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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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22 September 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INFORMATION PROVIDED ON HOME-BUILT CIVIL DEFENSE SHELTERS

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German Vol 3 No 4, 1983 (signed to press 13 May 83) pp 22-23

[Article by Civil Defense 1st Lt B. Winkler: "The Protected Shelter"]

[Text] The basic topic of the series of articles beginning in this issue consists in the following:

To strengthen the conviction that sheltered accommodation, that is to say, staying in a shelter, guarantees the best protection against the most varied weapon effects;

To develop the basic knowledge of the citizens and workers as to the means and methods of self-aid for sheltered accommodation; and

To provide an impetus for the preparation and implementation of simple protective measures.

The realizations deriving from the events of the most recent past--such as, for example, the aggression of the United States in Vietnam and Israel's raids against Lebanon--document the fact that sheltered accommodation offers effective protection against conventional weapons. Starting with the known effects of nuclear weapons and chemical warfare agents, staying in a shelter, during the employment of such weapons, moreover most extensively offers the possibility for the preservation of life.

The sheltered accommodation of persons in suitable building structures is one of the most effective measures of protection also against the effectiveness factors of modern mass annihilation means. This is why sheltered accommodation plays a dominant role in the entire complex of protective measures for the workers and citizens within civil defense.

The threat to world peace coming from the enormous rearmament effort of the NATO countries, the introduction and stationing of ever new weapons and missile systems by those countries--these underscore the need already in peacetime for registering all suitable spaces for the protection of children, workers in enterprises, and citizens in residential areas. The important thing is to determine their shelter qualities and to prepare all measures so as to be able to fit these spaces out as shelters on short notice.

The question has been asked repeatedly as to what extent protection is at all possible against modern mass annihilation means, especially nuclear weapons. We get an answer to that question among other things if we take a somewhat more detailed look at the effects of nuclear weapons.

#### Subdivision of Nuclear Weapon Action Perimeter into Destruction Zones

Regardless of the type and intensity of a nuclear weapon detonation, the immediately affected area can be subdivided into three zones.

1. Zone of total destruction. In this zone protection is very difficult to provide. It covers about 5 percent of the nuclear weapon action radius. In this area, we get a pressure of more 100 kPa (1.0 kp/cm<sup>2</sup>).
2. Zone of heavy destruction. In this zone, protection for persons in shelters is already possible. This zone covers about 15 percent of the nuclear weapon action radius. Here we get pressures between 100 and 30 kPa.
3. The zone of light destruction. It covers about 80 percent of the action radius. In this zone it is already possible to provide protection in simple basement rooms prepared by the population with relative minor effort. (Figure 1).

If we take the caliber of the atomic bomb dropped by the United States immediately after the end of World War II [as published] on Hiroshima (20 kt = equivalent quantity for 20,000 t dynamite) as an example of a possible nuclear weapon action radius, then we find the following surface subdivisions for the above-mentioned zones after an atomic bomb surface burst:

	Pressure	Surface area
Zone 1	>1.0 kp/cm <sup>2</sup>	1.7 km <sup>2</sup>
Zone 2	1.0-0.3 kp/cm <sup>2</sup>	5.0 km <sup>2</sup>
Zone 3	0.3-0.1 kp/cm <sup>2</sup>	21.6 km <sup>2</sup>

This clearly shows that protection is possible on about 90 percent of the surface area involved.

In addition to the blast wave, persons and buildings are exposed to other action factors due to possible nuclear weapon employment (Figure 2).

The main action factors are the blast wave, as well as light and radioactive radiation. Simple cover, rooms in massive buildings, as well as basements already offer a certain degree of protection against these effects (Figure 3).

In the case of surface bursts, there develops a radioactive trace in the direction in which the detonation cloud moves off. As a function of the wind and detonation intensities, it can cover several hundreds of square kilometers. Similar to the nuclear weapon action radius, it can be subdivided into individual radioactive contamination zone. In this radioactively contaminated area, protection is possible by staying in a basement prepared as shelter for one or several days (Figure 4).

Summarizing we can say that protection against the action factors deriving from enemy mass annihilation means is possible in basements equipped as shelters by the population at the right time for most of the area covered by a nuclear weapon action radius. What are the requirements a shelter must meet?

Starting with the action factors of the mass annihilation means currently in the arsenals of the NATO armies, a shelter must meet the following basic requirements:

1. Ceilings and walls must be sufficiently stable and must reveal a high degree of load carrying capacity. In case of a building collapse, they must protect the users against fragments and wreckage. Nuclear and light radiation should be adequately screened.
2. All openings in ceilings and walls should be closed off and should be well sealed. This is the only way one can extensively prevent the penetration of chemical warfare agents and biological warfare agents.
3. The time between the alert and the actual weapon effect can be very short. This is why the distance from the normal place of activity to a shelter should be as short as possible.
4. The furnishing, ventilation, and equipment should facilitate a longer stay in the shelter.

In line with these basic requirements, basement rooms with their favorable prerequisites are best suited for further development. They can be turned into shelters by the population with comparatively little effort, because they are as a rule below the surface of the ground, they have relatively high shelter properties against the above-mentioned nuclear weapon action factors.

The half-life thickness is a criterion for the determination of the shelter properties, especially the protection factor, in basements and ground-level rooms, against residual nuclear radiation. It is the measure of attenuation of radiation as compared to staying out in the open. The half-life thickness tells us to what degree radioactive radiation is reduced--for example, when penetrating through a wall--and what measures are required to achieve the required radiation protection factor. Thus, a protection factor of 100, for example, means that radiation in the shelter amounts to only 1/100 of the radiation dose measured out in the open (Figure 4). We can see in Figure 5 that earth materials and concrete have a high protective effect. This is why the structure around a basement selected for shelter purposes should be as thick as possible. The protection factor of a room can be increased considerably by piling up earth.

In our next article, entitled "What Everybody Should Know to Set Up His Own Shelter," we go into greater detail in this problem in conjunction with the sequence of shelter development and the degree of protective effect achieved during the particular development phases.

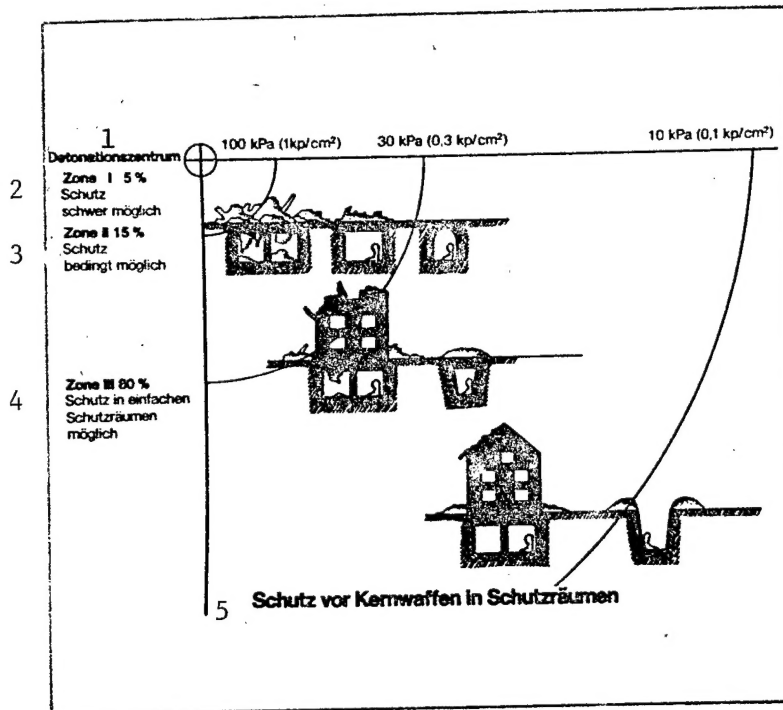


Figure 1. Key: 1--Detonation center; 2--Zone I, 5%, protection difficult to attain; 3--Zone II, 15%, protection possible to some degree; 4--Zone III, 80%, protection possible in simple shelters; 5--Protection against nuclear weapons in shelters.

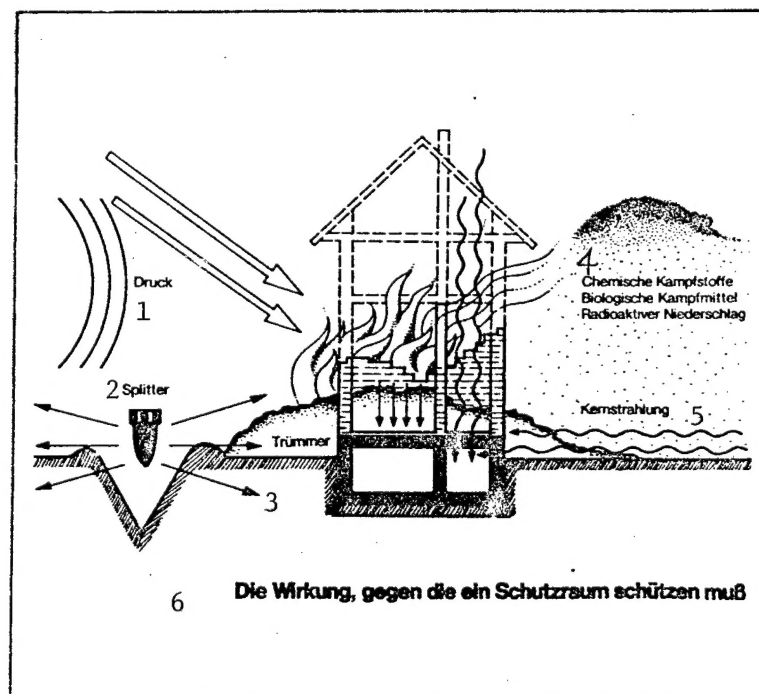


Figure 2. Key: 1--Pressure; 2--Fragments; 3--Wreckage; 4--CW, BW agents, radioactive fallout; 5--Nuclear radiation; 6--Effect against which shelter must provide protection.

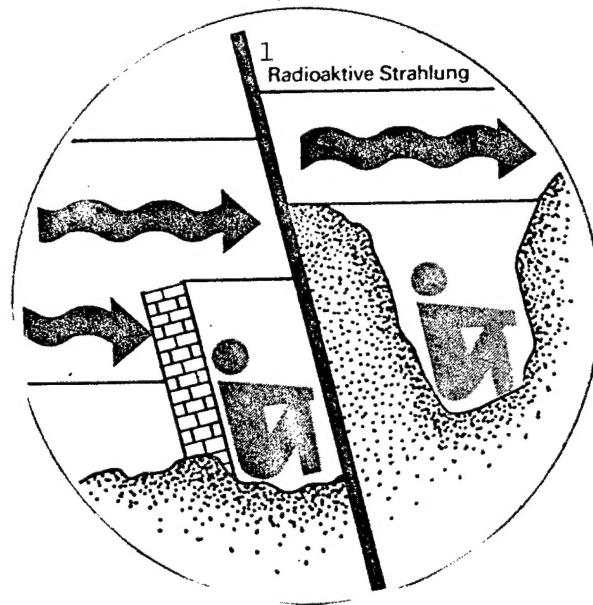


Figure 3. Key: 1--Radioactive radiation.

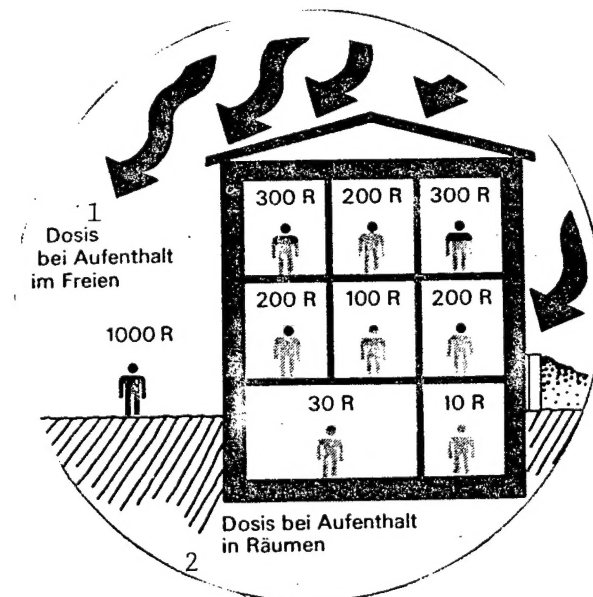


Figure 4. Key: 1--Dose when out in the open; 2--Dose when in rooms.

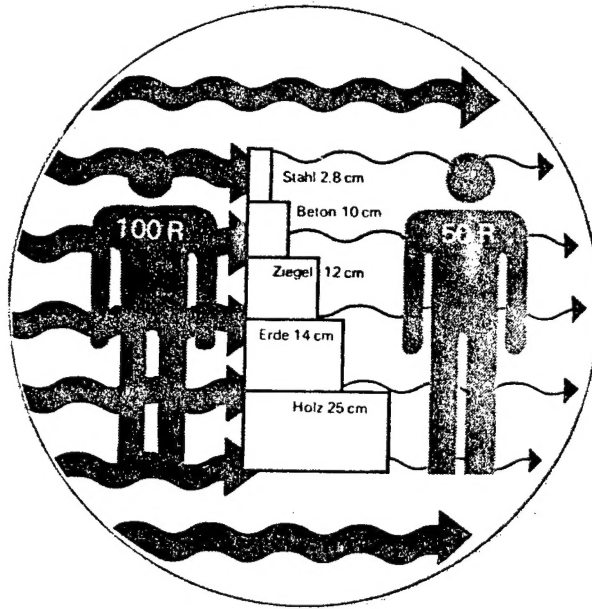


Figure 5. Key: 1--Steel, 2.8 cm; 2--Concrete, 10 cm; 3--Bricks, 12 cm; 4--Dirt, 14 cm; 5--Lumber, 25 cm.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Lodz Plenum Discusses Ideological Problems

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 31 May 83 p 3

[Article by Dr Wladyslaw Jaworski of the Intercollegiate Institute of Political Science [MINP] of Lodz University [UL]]

[Text] The announcement of the convocation of the plenum of the Central Committee of PZPR devoted to ideological problems gave impulse to a wide-ranging discussion, both inside as well as outside of the party. The reason is that complex problems of socialist ideology are of interest to various circles including those whose views are to a lesser or greater degree distant from it.

This plenum, devoted as it is to basic theoretical and ideological problems, will above all have the greatest importance for the party itself. For quite some time ideological problems did not occupy their proper place in the life of the party. By having pushed these problems onto the margin of her everyday and long-range activities the party, as experience has shown, has incurred very painful consequences. In the ideological life of the party there occurred a number of errors and deficiencies.

As analyses and discussions at the first countrywide Ideological and Theoretical Party Conference in April 1982 have shown, there was occurring a departure from the general principles of building socialism. In discussions within the party no attempts were made to probe what is universal and what is peculiar and specific to the Polish road of building socialism. Departure from scientific, marxist-leninist evaluation of social reality caused a nonrecognition, and even an ignoring, of contradictions. As a consequence, no comprehensive conception has been worked out for solving contradictions which were arising in the sphere of socioeconomic relations, particularly contradictions between the development of productive forces and the educational level of society on the one hand, and the economic and sociopolitical structures and the manner of exercising power of the other.

Very negative consequences resulted from tampering with leninist norms of internal party life, from the limiting of democracy by, among other things, liquidation or constraining of the role of representative institutions and institutions of self-government. This, in effect, deformed the essence of

socialist democracy and led to weakening of the leading role of the party and to disturbing of its bond with the working people.

The party, as statements of its leaders indicate, is aware of these shortcomings and deficiencies. Many of these questions were examined at the conference. It is a good thing, however, that some of them will be taken up at the plenum. It will allow this high party forum to work out practical conclusions and directions for a more effective party activity. But the effectiveness of the ideological offensive will depend mainly on whether this discussion will get carried over to the basic party organization, whether rank-and-file party members will take part in it.

This discussion, we presume, will also take place, on a greater scale than heretofore, in the party press. Let us, therefore, recall--of necessity in a general way--what expresses the essence of ideology, what is its value for the party, what conveys its class character.

There are three mutually interconnected and interdependent elements which enter into every ideology: a) A system of theoretical knowledge about social reality; b) a system of values, norms, judgements, and ends (an axiomatic system); and c) resulting from these two systems a set of concrete practical directives dealing with ways of achieving given ends. An ideology, therefore, is a definite, relatively systematized vision of the human world dependent on living conditions, interests and aspirations of large social groups (primarily social classes). A great merit of marxism-leninism which forms the core of socialist ideology is the exposure of the class character of every ideology which means that it serves to strengthen, or weaken, the economic and political interests of social classes of a given society. In other words, ideology always expresses the way a class or a segment of society thinks about its place and its role in society and which, at the same time, determines the strategy and principles of action of the social movement of that class.

The fact that a particular ideology expresses the interests of a given social class does not mean, of course, that all members of that class are its proponents and that all members of the other classes and segments are its opponents. Ideological class struggle is more complex than that (more complex than the economic or the political class struggle). At each historical stage there exist many ideologies and single ideas which compete with each other. The most prevalent and important is always the ideology of the politically and economically governing class. If, however, the economic and political reins of power can be secured relatively rapidly (through the seizure of power and the issuance of appropriate legal enactments), the struggle for a change in social consciousness is a relatively long and arduous process.

This ideological struggle is conducted primarily by the political representation of the class, that is, by its party. Ideology is for the party its constituent and unifying element which at the same time, due to its class orientation, assures a bond with its own social base. For if the system of values, norms and judgements which the party proclaims--and, more importantly, realizes-- corresponds to the system of values and to the interests of the



given social class then, of course, this given class constitutes the principal social base of the party and the party is the representative of that class and the defender of its interests.

In social reality, however, this situation is also more complex. The party, after having taken over power in the state, must take into account not only the interests of that class which it represents but also the basic interests of remaining classes and segments of the population. There must occur a compromise blending of these interests at that phase in time to assure optimal development of the whole country.

The pressure of spontaneously developing real needs of various social groups must, however, be subject to limitations which would assure the defense of the interests of the working class and would be in agreement with its long-range interest.

A full, developed, theoretical form of ideology is a product not of the entire social class but of its political representation--its party, and, in effect, of its leading ideologies, its intellectuals (this is also true of socialist ideologies). This confronts the party with the necessity of continuously enriching the thinking of the working people, of introducing this ideology into the consciousness of the working class. This can occur all the more rapidly and effectively the greater is the intellectual activity of the party.

Several factors, such as historical heritage, role of tradition, of prejudices, influence of foreign ideologies, determine that the struggle for change in social consciousness is long and difficult.

#### Nowy Sacz Plenum of Construction

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 10 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Kazimierz Bryndza]

[Text] The 7-year outlook for the housing industry, both socialized and private, was yesterday subject of discussion at the plenary meeting of the Provincial Committee of PZPR in Nowy Sacz. The meeting was presided over by the first secretary of the Provincial Committee, Jozef Brozek, and was attended by the deputy director of the Economic Department of the Central Committee of PZPR, Wacław Kulczynski, the deputy minister of housing and construction materials industry, Janusz Prokopiak, the economic director of Central Housing Cooperative Union [CZSBM], Jerzy Zakrzewski, and the plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee [KOK], Col Dr Stefan Michalek.

The scale of needs is illustrated by 24,000 applications at building cooperatives including 16,000 fully paid-up adults. The governor of the province of Nowy Sacz submitted three versions of a program for construction of multi-family housing by the year 1990 with total number of units of 16,450, 11,163, and 10,443. The first number is not very realistic since it would entail

high (9 million zlotys) expenditures for infrastructure, while the capabilities do not exceed 6 million zlotys. The problem then is to divide rationally what is at our disposal. In a presentation by the executive board, secretary of Provincial Committee Ludwik Kaminski undertook the attempt of a rational defense of variant II, modified by the elements omitted in the working draft. The plans of firms have not been completely balanced with their capabilities and the examples of Podhale Nowy Targ Leather Industry Works [NZPS] and of Sacz Coal-Fired Electric Power Works [SZEW] teach that in plant built housing 200-300 units can be achieved annually. In the cities there exist areas partially developed. The idea of more intensely increasing the density of existing communities is worth exploring. In the past plans failed due to deficient organizational and implementation model of the entire construction process. Construction firms were late in entering the process of reform so it is right to expect that they will show improvement in their operation, although there are those who are of the opinion that reform stopped at the fringes of construction, at the door of design engineering offices. The system of finish jobs needs to be revised because it causes alterations and irretrievable losses of materials in short supply. In the past there have been fruitful attempts at establishing agreements between building trades workmen and future users. It would be worthwhile returning to them.

A sin as old as the building industry is the delay in getting the materials to the construction site. Eventually heating units, stoves, bathtubs, and heaters are found but at the cost of unnecessary aggravation. Next the details of variant II with the ceiling of 11,163 units were examined, which foresees 4,327 units in the years 1983-1985 and 6,836 units for the period 1986-1990. For this total number of units the cost of land development will be 6 billion zlotys and of associated servicing units 2.6 billion zlotys. This variant has several gaps: it would be advisable to abandon community development at Mszana Dolna, but 20,000 inhabitants of this citygmina do not want to agree to this. Certain limitations would occur at Grybow, Krynica, Muszyna, Piwniczna, Stary Sacz, Limanowa, Rabka, Jordanowo, Szczawnica and Zakopane. If this variant was strengthened by an additional expenditure of 3 billion zlotys as suggested in the presentation then the loss could be greatly modified and there would be no need to bar Mszana Dolna and other small cities from development. It is necessary to economize but not the way of the planner of the expansion of the electrothermal plant at Gorlice who has projected the highest cost in the country for heat, 1 Gcal, or like the design engineers of the housing communities Poloniny in Szczawnica and Pardalowka in Zakopane. A number of excellent proposals were advanced during the discussion. Jerzy Zygmier proposed assigning plumbing installations to work establishments: they will do it faster and cheaper. Zbigniew Kacala reported disturbing decrease in the digging for sand and gravel at local sites. Arguments on behalf of their towns were put forward by the following: Jozef Pitala from Mszana Dolna, Eugeniusz Bohatkiewicz from Gorlice, Zbigniew Haraf from Nowy Sacz, Stefan Skrzekut from Nowy Targ. Also taking part in the discussions were: Erazm Rola, Wladyslaw Gawias, Andrzej Pauli, Jerzy Hirs, Stanislaw Zgorniak, Ryszard Marcinowski, Mieczyslaw Wrzala, Zofia Mroz, Jozef Kurek, and at the end Janusz Prokopiak and Wacław Kulczynski.

This party debate did not end the work on the draft of the proposed program. The task for the entire party will be to suggest needed changes in the housing industry process. To its participants later means now. We have to catch up to the deadlines which have gotten away from us. The result of the new inquiries should be an increase in the number of housing units. Everyone should be engaged in this socially-needed goal, not only those who are waiting in the longest line, the line for new apartments.

The final approval for the program will be given in August of this year at a session of the Provincial National Council.

#### Lodz Plenary Session on Construction

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 5 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by fer]

[Text] A plenary session of the Lodz Committee of PZPR was held yesterday in Lodz, devoted to the situation in the building industry and to its development in the years 1983-1985 in Lodz City Province. Plenum evaluated the situation in housing which, although well-known, requires, however, concrete actions.

Yesterday's plenum was preceded by several-months-long preparatory work. Representatives of the political and administrative authorities of the city met with inhabitants of new Lodz housing communities. Similar meetings were held in Pabianice and in Zgierz. Opinions were solicited in many party organizations active in construction firms. Architects, investors and design engineers spoke out.

In Yesterday's plenary session of the Lodz party organization the following persons participated: deputy member of the Politburo of CC PZPR and secretary of CC Jan Glowczyk; deputy director of Economic Department of CC Wacław Kulczyński; Minister of Construction and Construction Materials Industry Stanisław Kukuryka; Deputy President of the Central Housing Cooperative Union [CZSBM] Stanisław Wozniak. In addition the following also participated in the plenum: chairman of the Provincial Council of PRON, Igor Sikirycki; chairman of the Lodz City National Council, Mieczysław Serwinski; chairman of the Lodz Committee of the Democratic Party [LK SD], Stanisław Zolobny; secretary of the Provincial Committee of the United Peasant Party [WK ZSL], Stanisław Wojtunik. Member of the Politburo of CC PZPR and First Secretary of the Lodz Committee of PZPR Tadeusz Czechowicz presided over the deliberations.

This is the fourth year in a row in which there was a deep, up to 50 percent, decline in construction in our province. The outlook for next few years does not look optimistic, either. In the meantime the demand for new apartments is growing constantly. It is enough to say that in the Provincial Housing Cooperative there are 140,000 persons registered who want to have own apartments. Even if we take into consideration that a portion of those registered in the cooperative's office have not even reached 7 years of age, the waiting

line nevertheless is long. In the meantime Lodz building industry is unable to get out of the "hole" and the loss of 11,000 construction workers has seriously impaired the productive potential of individual firms and of construction combines. What kind of organizational action then should be undertaken which would bring order into the investment process? How best to take advantage of the construction potential? In what manner to efficiently manage machinery, materials and manpower?

Participants in yesterday's plenum attempted to find answers to these and to many other complicated questions.

A report on the situation in the construction industry and on its development for the years 1983-1985 in Lodz City Province was given by the secretary of Lodz Committee of PZPR, Jaroslaw Pietrzyk.

The deputy mayor of the city of Lodz, Zbigniew Turewicz, spoke about matters that are awaiting action, about what the city administration has accomplished so far and what it plans to do. Undoubtedly, it is to the credit of construction industry employees that 60 percent of existing living quarters were built after the war. The goals set for the next few years in multifamily unit construction foresee finishing of 5,300 apartments in 1983, 6,000 in 1984 and 6,600 in 1985. In other words, the number of apartments built each year will increase by 10 percent. In order for this to happen many barriers which cause difficulties in construction will have to be overcome. One of the first is the lack of technical infrastructure and, what is even worse, the failure of contracting firms to use up appropriated funds, with the result that in 2 years there will be no reserve of land developed areas. Another problem concerns the work of design engineering firms. They have good financial accomplishments but the quality and timeliness of documentation leaves a lot to be desired. Investment services of our province will also have a lot to accomplish since they do not always fulfill their tasks well. Delays in delivering construction sites, insufficient supervision during construction, lack of quality control--these are their principal faults. Now the investors, whether they like it or not, will have to make their work conform to the economic reform which is now being introduced.

In the discussion which followed the two reports the following persons took part: Jerzy Nastalczyk, Halina Suskiewicz, Wacław Pelczynski, Irena Osinska, Tadeusz Tomaszewski, Stanisław Zolobny, Edmund Kempa, Kazimierz Jujka, Bogdan Bucki, Krzysztof Borkowski, Stanisław Sobieszek, Andrzej Wilhelmi, Zbigniew Dobrowolski, Bogdan Zaborowski, Zdzisław Szyda, Adam Walczak and Wiesław Rokseła.

During a many-sided and rich discussion a number of negative phenomena in construction firms were mentioned, such as: decrease and fluctuation in employee numbers, a lowering of effectiveness of the system of work motivation, waste on construction sites, weakening of supervision in the middle echelons of technical personnel. Discussants stressed that these phenomena, when coupled with very pronounced shortages of materials, cause a failure fully to exploit the technical and productive potential of these firms. As

a result only half the number of apartments which were built by Lodz combines during the 1970's are being built now. Discussants indicated strongly the need to invest in schools and kindergartens for new housing communities. There is also a strong need to show greater care about the quality of apartments for which the tenants will be paying increasingly higher prices. Although Lodz design engineering firms have begun to implement modification of construction systems, that need will still exist. Representatives of construction firms, in turn, postulated that to be able to talk about increasing the tempo of construction they would need to have a balanced supply of materials. This will contribute to the increase in the rhythm and better organization of production. Investors must exhibit some new ways of thinking. It is well known that the price of a square meter of living space has risen. But does it need to keep rising? This should be the concern of representatives of housing cooperatives. They should arrive at agreements with the building trades in this respect which is so important. Discussants emphasized that unless and until all gears in the investment triangle mesh the present aggravations will continue and the result will be easy to predict: a smaller number of apartments.

Minister of Construction S. Kukuryka also took part in the discussion. He stated--among other things--that the situation in the Lodz construction industry is known to his ministry. Its problems are similar to the problems which occur in all large urban areas. And these are under the special "care" of his department. What is his department doing to make life easier for construction firms? First of all, it undertook concrete measures to improve the production of construction materials, particularly of tile and insulation. We realize, of course, that one can not talk of any improvement until the production of construction materials gets ahead of assembly production. We will finance new technologies. Economic reform simply means the necessity to reform the entire investment system. That is why the department will watch closely the economic results of construction firms. At the same time we will consistently require strict observance of building regulations.

Secretary of the Central Committee PZPR J. Glowczyk talked, among other things, about the role of the party organization in a construction firm. The diagnosis of the construction industry is already known but we are more interested in therapy. Let us say openly that those engaged in the construction industry must start cleaning up their own backyard. A considerable portion of this difficult undertaking must be taken up by party members. They will have to overcome some impossible barriers. The public at large is not interested in who is right: the investor, the engineer, or the construction workers. The public is waiting for apartments.

Last to speak was first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee, T. Czechowicz. During this plenum we attempted to analyze the situation in the Lodz construction industry. We are treating this as the start of a general discussion, as a confirmation of the dialogue with all those taking part in the investment process. The resolution which we have adopted obligates us to concrete action, to a discussion with party organizations and with the units of employees self-governed in individual combines. One thing is certain: the situation must be improved, and as soon as possible.

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Necessity of Trade Unions Realized

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 4 Aug 83 p 7

[Article by DAK]

[Text] When Pawel's mother, an employee of Tarchomin Polfa Pharmaceutical Enterprises, died, the boy's grandparents turned for help to the newly created trade unions in the factory. The boy's father has a history of recidivism and alcoholism. He is not only failing to provide the child with appropriate care, but also has a bad influence on his 12 year old son. He beats the boy often and makes scenes. What is needed is a guardian and help with the conduct of judicial proceedings to limit the parental rights of the father. Besides, there are material difficulties.

The union reacted instantly. Clothing was bought for Pawel. Free vacations and guardian's care were provided.

Tadeusz N. was evicted from the house of his deceased father. The allocated replacement housing defined all imagination about even the most humble living quarters. As a result, together with his wife and two daughters he moved into his sister's barn. In the dramatic situation he remembered that in his factory, in the Tarchomin Polfa, new unions are on duty every day. No, Tadeusz N. does not yet have an apartment, but the union has taken up his case. A human being was not left alone with his problem.

People Need Us

Janusz Bielecki, a technical employee in the chemistry department and the chairman of the new union in the Tarchomin Polfa Pharmaceutical Enterprises, says that there are many difficult personal matters:

"Because of the number and the weight of these matters we have organized two hour long office hours which are held in the temporary union offices at the time of workshift changes. They begin an hour before the first shift ends and last through the first hour of the second shift. But it is obvious already that the two hours are purely theoretical. There are so many

employee issues that the office hours are always longer. We are socially active at the expense of our own time, but we feel that it is worth it. People need us.

"Nevertheless, after the vacation period is over, beginning in September, we see the necessity of delegating at least two people to permanent union positions. Our membership rolls are growing and we need to manage our office systematically, we have to advise people, to deal rapidly with their problems. Our responsibilities towards the employees are growing."

It is high time to represent a "calling-card" of the trade unions in the Tarchomin "Polfa." The group got together in October of last year. In November, the initiating group was organized. Afterwards, the statutes were worked out and a motion to register the union was presented to the court. On January 31 of this year, the union was formally registered. Elections to union posts were held in March. Approximately 170 people participated. Now, 435 employees of Polfa belong to the new unions and we have no doubts that this number is going to increase in the fall, when vacations are over.

Why can there be "no doubts"? Because the union is really active and it has already gained a significant position in the factory. The union can claim certain real accomplishments and the three thousand employees must notice it and appreciate it.

#### A Difficult Problem

Polfa produces medications, especially antibiotics. Workers have to deal constantly with substances which are not indifferent to the human organism. These substances are omnipresent in the factory. We have to remember that while a medical dosage is counted in milligrams, a worker during a single shift is in contact with many kilograms of chemical substances. Therefore, airtight sealing of the apparatus, good ventilation, special equipment and protective clothing are indispensable.

On the suggestion of a majority of employees, the new union prepared a detailed listing of all dangers and inconveniences associated with work stations. It transpired that the problem of securing proper work conditions has been seriously neglected. The union asked the management to prepare a plan of how this neglect is to be remedied and to begin its immediate implementation. For this year the plan encompassed 300 tasks. Forty percent of these tasks have already been accomplished. Ventilation was improved, some noisy machines were removed, others were exchanged for less bothersome ones, floors were evened out (this was important since harmful dust can collect in indentations), air tight seals were improved on some installations and production machinery.

Deputy managing director Marian Anysz says that the union pressure to improve the safety and hygiene of work has a significance. He adds that from the very beginning of union activity there were disagreements between the management and the union on the issues of pay increases, promotions, on the division of prizes for the realization of special tasks, and on exports. After

discussions we arrived at many mutual agreements. On some issues the management had to give way.

#### Apartments and Rest

Many employees of Polfa live in difficult conditions. What is being done about housing?

The enterprise has money and it has certain executive powers. It wants to build several blocks of apartment buildings which would provide rotational apartments for the young. The terrain was selected a long time ago but there are problems with retaining this land. The new unions plan to work on this issue energetically, beginning in September.

The third issue of importance for which the union is responsible involves vacations. Polfa does have social funds to finance vacations and it owns resting houses and childrens camps. This year, all those interested--1500 people--were given discount vacations. Single mothers were offered the possibility of two, partially subsidized by the enterprise, vacations per year.

Ms Anna Woronowicz, the union treasurer, states: "A valuable achievement, in which the union played a part, involved the verification and broadening of preventive rest. These are additional vacations, outside of the normal time off. They last from 6 to 12 days and can be used by employees working in particularly dangerous positions."

Finally, we must mention the relife fund of the union and the statutory allowances. Allowances provided when a child is born or when a member of the family dies have to be raised by Polfa. The unionists believe that 2,000 or 2,500 zlotys does not mean much today. Relief benefits should also reflect today's prices.

Beginning in September, we will attempt to organize departmental and sectional councils which will allow people to feel closer to the union. Social work inspections are going to be instituted and this is a very important move in these particular enterprises. More and more fully the union will enter the lives of the workers.

#### Eighty Percent Trade Union Members Are Workers

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Aug 83 pp 1,2

[Text] New trade unions began authentic statutory activity 7 months ago.

In July there were already 16,7000 unions with 3.1 million members.

Today, 90 percent of enterprises able to form unions have union organization, initiating groups or organizing committees.



Elections to self-government were already held in 11,000 registered unions.

The degree of development of the trade union movement is differentiated just as it would be in any process which takes place in a natural manner. The building of trade unions is taking place in the context of a sharp political struggle, and it is accompanied by attempts to boycott the unions. Moreover, it requires that bureaucratic barriers sometimes created by the administration be broken and that the distrust of some workers be overcome. In 16 districts over 30 percent of all employees belong to trade unions. This includes such districts as Biala Podlaska, Kielce, Koszalin, Katowice, Olsztyn, and Torun. On the other hand in five districts--in Gdansk, Tarnow, Wroclaw, Lodz, and Walbrzych--only between 10 and 20 percent of employees belong to trade unions. In the remaining districts, between 20 and 30 percent of all those employed have joined the unions.

Beyond average statistical data one can uncover significant differences among enterprises. For example, in the Marcelli Nowotko Steel Works in Ostrow Swietokrzyski over 9000 people belong to the unions. In the Lenin Steel Works there are over 6000 union members, in Cegielski Enterprises there are 2750, in the Automobile Factory in Warsaw [FSO] there are 1422, and in PaFaWag there are 621.

The authentic nature of this union movement is confirmed by its composition: workers constitute between 70 and 80 percent of all union members. Members of all former currents of the trade union movement are participating in the rebuilding of unions.

People who do not belong to the party constitute the majority of unionists. It is interesting that in elections, held according to very strict democratic principles, party members are often the winners. As a result, their participation in union leadership is considerable.

The process of building the trade union movement entered a higher organizational stage. New, countrywide trade union organizations are being constantly created in various branches of the economy and in various occupational groups. Some of these organizations have already been registered. The first one--Federation of Smelting Trade Unions--has already held its organizational congress. If further motions to acquire permission to begin activities during the current year are going to be granted by the State Council, and the new interfactory structures are going to be registered by the court, then we can expect that by November, more than ten nationwide union organizations, including those of some large occupational groups are going to hold their organizational congresses. The formation of these structures has great significance for efficient and representative consultations concerning projects of decisions which are important for the working people. Such projects include, for example, the plan to change worker compensation which has just been submitted for a general discussion.

## Disappointments, Hopes in Unions

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 10 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Boleslaw Aszklar]

[Text] Department No 2 of the Antoninek Glassworks in Tur (Szubin Gmina) has always had only one trade union--an occupational trade union. This was so independently of the changes in the political climate. The chairman of the Independent Self-governing Trade Unions of the Workers of Tur Glassworks, Konrad Smigiel emphatically stresses the fact that their union organization was never broken up into smaller units.

Why was there no Solidarity in the Glassworks? Edward Piekarski, chairman of the workers' self-government, who is also participating in the discussion, remembers being among the advocates of the formation of this union in the factory. Declarations were already being distributed among the workers. Like many other workers, he was fascinated by the postulates voiced at the beginnings of this organization, by ideas which appeared to embody workers' dreams of democracy, equality, disinterestedness ("when someone will come to work as a functionary for us in worn-out socks, he will also leave with worn-out socks"). Life brought a cruel disappointment. In the name of Solidarity, representatives of the strongest occupational groups--acting without scruples even if this were to result in a lowering of the standards of living for others--were gaining for themselves, for their enterprises, special conditions and privileges. Small groups were to form a background of "solidarity" strikes which supported the ambitions of the powerful. Another reason played an important role in the selection of the union. It was observed that all too quickly Solidarity acquired advisors and experts whose opinions--and those are not the opinions of workers--became dominant and binding. In the Glassworks, the unions had a working class character; those who wanted to travel on workers' backs from the union movement to the world of big politics were not loved here.

It might appear as a paradox that in the Tur Glassworks, where there was Solidarity, the suspension of union activity of 13 December 1981, and later, the dissolution of the union acted as shocks and brought a sense of wrong. My interlocutors--among them also a union member and the secretary of the Factory Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Jan Getler--can understand the so-called higher reasons. Nevertheless, they demand also a recognition of their own reasons and arguments, of the claim that the dissolution of the entire trade union movement was a blow for those organizations which did not engage in political and antistate vendettas, but in purely union activities. This is why the disappointment and the discouragement of many unionists (not just in Tur) is understandable. They explain the fact that their new organization has fewer members than the old one, by this discouragement (approximately 52 percent of the workers belong to the new unions). Thus, one can discern a wait-and-see posture adopted by some workers. Nevertheless, K. Smigiel is convinced that as the new union develops its activities, an overwhelming number of the employees will join it. Workers constitute an overwhelming majority in the new unions--stalling is more

prevalent among the white collar employees. The union does not have any sizeable financial assets. However, it does want to fulfill honestly its responsibilities of paying allowances to union members. For example, it was decided that such benefits will be also given retroactively to all those who gained a right to receive them before the union became fully active, but after the enterprise ceased to pay them to the workers.

Our conversation is taking place during the second month of a break in production in the Glassworks. The workers here do not use their free Saturdays, but instead all of them go on vacations in July and August. Such a solution is appreciated by the workers and it also has its justification in the technology of glass production. Since the workers are on vacation, our conversation is not dominated by everyday concerns.

The unionists of Tur see the role and function of the trade union movement as something broader than the provision of social services and the consultation of decisions affecting the enterprise. For example, they make many critical comments about the current wage and price policies. Unions cannot remain indifferent to the still drastic differences among the earnings of various occupational groups. What is particularly irritating are the highest earnings--achieved for nobody knows what, by unknown means and for unknown reasons--by various speculators who enrich themselves in such periods of crisis. After all, this is happening in a situation in which a significant number of working class families barely have enough money to survive from one pay day to the next. It is good that the tax policy is going to be adjusted to reflect levels of income. Still, a radical reform of wages in the entire country is also necessary, since a continuous increase of earnings in individual factories works like a truncheon, whose other end hits the working people with price increases. Wages must also contain a factor which would mobilize bigger and better production: the overcoming of problems on the market depends on this as well. Wage privileges should reflect the contribution and the quality of labor, rather than placement in a "better" industry or an inheritance retained from the uncompromising greed of the years just past. Unionists in Tur are especially interested in a system of progressive piecework pay, that is, in a system in which a workers is rewarded with bigger compensation (and not with an increased plan) for every product over and above the plan.

Price increases are being observed with understandable worry. It is true that during the current year the increases of prices in socialized trade are not yet taking place as quickly as last year. But it is also necessary to know that the sale of many goods--not only of luxuries, but also of items needed in everyday life--is almost completely monopolized by private trade. Its "conventional prices" are completely out of reach for many working people. The advice not to buy in private or agency stores is just as absurd as the idea that if the air is bad, one should stop breathing.

Both wages and prices must be included in the realm of those issues which are of concern for the trade unions, because these are the basic factors which determine the standard of living of the society. The unions will gain an authentic influence on these matters when they will acquire more members and

develop interfactory structures. Konrad Smigiel, chairman of the Independent Self-governing Trade Unions in Tur is actively engaged in the formation of a union federation. There are many dilemmas: should there be a separate federation of the unions of glass workers or is it better to join another, bigger federation? Meetings of unionists from all of Poland brought Smigiel not only the hope for the strengthening of the trade union movement, but also disappointments. Many of his colleagues spoke of bad relations between the trade unions and the management of those enterprises which, while maintaining the appearances, try to trip up the new unions, to minimize their role and authority among the workers.

What do the unions expect of the party? No, they do not expect that every member of the party be required to join the union--the union will gain members on its own. On the other hand, they do expect that the party will carefully examine those of its members who occupy positions of leadership and that it will make sure that in their actions there is no opportunism towards the party line which supports class trade unions. In a single party there can be no place for both support and doubt.

#### Gallup Poll on Trade Unions

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 16 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Zabierowski]

[Text] We needed somebody with a little civil courage who would take up union activity in our firm. There were just a few of us. Maybe five, maybe six... Thus, the initiating group was formed. Today the Trade Union of the Employees of the Second Department of the National Enterprises of Automobile Transport [KPKS] in Rzeszow has more than 200 members. About 500 people are employed so that over 40 percent of the department is unionized.

This is how Jozef Spirala, driving instructor in the Rzeszow Materials Department of KPKS and today chairman of the union, talks about the beginnings of his social work.

"I have always belonged to trade unions. I never held an important positions, I was always a rank and file member," continues Spirala.

"For the first time in my life I have such a responsible position in the trade union movement. I am not afraid to say that it is a difficult position, for it is hard for someone who worked as a driver his entire life, and who suddenly has to deal with many problems which are foreign to him. I am aware of the fact that what I am doing now is not perfect: I still lack experience with these issues, but, above all, I am happy about the fact that what I and my colleagues are doing serves our employees."

It is a fact that the activities of the unionists from KPKS are needed by the workers. Those are not empty words. Despite the fact that the union is young and its activists inexperienced, the union tries to take care of many matters to the benefit of the factory community. As Spirala informed us,

these actions are connected with a far reaching help and understanding on the part of the firm's management. This is why nothing happens in the Second Department of KPKS without the participation of a union representative. They attend operational meetings, they play their part in every decision--even the most insignificant--of the management of the firm...

The union chairman says: "Together with the management, our union recommended a new system of premiums for drivers. This involved the introduction of additional earnings after the completion of monthly duties. This system has already passed the test and it was noted that there are instances when workers complete 190 percent of the norm.

"We are taking care of many human, everyday matters. Maybe many of them are minor and unimpressive, but they are necessary in life. I am thinking of allotments, of statutory benefits, about help with the organization of camps and vacations for the children of our employees..."

How do you manage to have so many members in the new union of KPKS? Chairman Spirala claims that he is often asked this question. He answers that he does nothing special. "One simply talks to people--but nobody is trying to force or convince people to join the union. People think soberly and they know that they need a union..."

The unionists of KPKS do not approach these problems in an overly formal manner. A short time ago there was a coincidence such that one of the employees who was thinking of joining, and had even made a decision to join, did not have time to sign a declaration. He died suddenly. The Union of Employees of the Second Department of the KPKS arranged a funeral, took care of the family of the deceased. On the initiative of the union there was a collection in the firm for the apartment prepayments for the two orphans. More than 10,000 zlotys were collected. Nobody was reluctant to help, independently whether he was a union member or not. Unfortunately, the realization of this initiative of the unionists is taking longer than intended. It is impossible to start prepayments for the apartments for the orphans, since registrations for the housing cooperative are suspended this year. The union activists are looking for help in this matter. I believe that they should be given this help, especially since the apartments for which they want to make full prepayment for the orphans, are not needed now but in more than 10 years. It would be a pity if such a civic-minded, beautiful gesture could not be finalized for formal reasons...

"Why did I join the union? I believed and still believe," answers Jan Spirala, "that a trade union is necessary. Anyway, as I mentioned earlier, I always belonged to the unions, both to the occupational ones and to Solidarity. The name of the union is not important for me, what is important is that the union help people when this becomes necessary. And I believe that this new union--insofar as we, the activists, are able--does just this. And this is the most important thing..."

"I believed that it was my social responsibility to join the newly created trade unions," said Danuta Witek, deputy chairwoman of the Independent

Self-governing Trade Union of the Employees of the Transport Enterprises of Internal Trade [PTHW] in Rzeszow. "I always knew that employee interests have to be defended, just not in such a bureaucratized manner as this was done before August 1980 by the occupational trade unions and not as it was done later by Solidarity union. Briefly stated, this must not be done from behind an office desk, nor by means of strikes and personal campaigns against people who are not guilty of anything..."

"Although this might sound like a slogan, I do want to engage in social work on behalf of the people in our enterprises. Even if these are the same people from the former unions, who do not like me....Today we try and we want very much for the union activities conducted according to the rule of a golden mean, to be effective. In our talks with the management we present our positions strongly, and despite the fact that occasionally, there were large discrepancies between our views on various issues, until now we have always been able to reach an understanding."

The trade union in PTHW in Rzeszow has about 700 members out of the work force of about 2500. This means that roughly 30 percent of the employees are unionized. Maybe there would be more members, but the particular character of work in PTHW which involves working in four districts in our region and in addition in Tarnow Voivodship, is very complicated. Many small branches scattered around do not favor consolidation of the trade union movement...

The new unions in Rzeszow PTHW began by taking care of many problems right at the start. Many of them have already been finalized. When I spoke to the general director of the firm, engineer Andrzej Lubas, he showed me a thick folder full of motions and postulates presented to the management by the union. He joked that in a short while he will not be able to manage with them.

I spoke with the unionists from PTHW. I asked for their evaluation of the new unions. I conducted this type of a poll, even if only because of the almost mythical stories that the working people are boycotting the new unions, that nobody is joining up, etc. In a greatly abbreviated form, this is what I have been told:

"Why did I join? It seemed to me that it will be a group of people which will consider matters seriously, and what is most important, justly," said Janusz Kuzniar, a mechanic from the diagnostic section. "I believed, and I still do believe that such situations as existed during the previous union--I am thinking of Solidarity--will not occur. Then many actions were connected with injustice against other people."

"I can see that our activists--I am only a rank and file member--want to give something of themselves to union work. Already now--this might appear unimportant to some--the safety and hygiene of work have been improved. For us, those working in the workshops this is not a detail. It is a basic issue when one can wash oneself thoroughly after dirty work."

In any case, I think that those who did not yet join and observe it from the sidelines, see, just as we do, that there is a completely different

atmosphere in the firm and that something concrete, other than demonstrations, is being accomplished. This is why others are joining our ranks."

Antoni Siwak, a driver said briefly: "Why am I a member of the new unions? Mister, during Solidarity I never knew whether I would be able to leave with a truck full of bread, or whether there would be a strike; nor did I know whether I would have a clean apron. And when the apron was dirty, Sanepid, the sanitary-epidemiological team, did not ask me about strikes. They would just demand a 500-zloty fine. Today, with the new union, I know where I stand. My apron is always clean, even if I have to change it three times a day, and moreover, something that did not happen for 5 years of my work here, the union arranged for me to get a pen, which I need in my work and which until now I had to buy myself. In other words, everything can be accomplished when one is willing. And the activists of the new union are indeed willing. Now I know that someone stands behind me, and not, like during Solidarity, one got only screamed at and ordered around..."

"I am in the union because the union works in such a way that my life is easier. Example? They arranged for me to receive my protective clothing and shoes more often. I do not have to run around for two years in worn out tennis shoes. One fills out a statement that the old clothing and shoes are worn out and it is possible to get new things," says Julian Boratyn, an electrician. "Another important initiative involved the organization, together with the social department in the enterprises, of the so-called 'vacations under a pear tree.' The first employees have already benefitted from this opportunity..."

During my reporter's reconnaissance I encountered many more such statements. It does not make sense to cite them, since they revolve around similar types of issues. One can draw from them, it seems to me, one general conclusion. The people I have talked to are pleased with the new unions. This obviously does not apply to everybody, and reasons for dissatisfaction vary.

When I asked the people who did not join the new unions why they made such a decision, I encountered various motivations. They ranged from caution caused by the disappointment connected with the dissolution of the occupational trade unions and of Solidarity, all the way to demagogic statements that only the first or the second of the mentioned unions fulfilled their dreams and needs. Characteristic of all these statements was a demand that the names of these respondents be kept secret. They said, "I want to have peace and quiet at work, at home, and among my colleagues."

Well, that is life...

12495

CSO: 2600/1237

NEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR YOUTH PROBLEMS CREATED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Kazimierz Zglejszewski: "Research Center for Youth Problems Created"]

[Text] Exhaustive information is essential to make a proper decision. It would seem that this is an obvious truth for everyone, but when we recall the decade of the 1970's, we see that not everyone found it so obvious. The errors in the economy, social policy and propaganda were largely caused by the lack of reliable data or by their improper utilization. Voluntarism and wishful thinking replaces scientific analysis.

In order not to make the same errors in governmental decisions, specialists are being appointed to collect and analyze information essential to decision makers in the state administration. The Research Center for Social Opinion had already conducted the initial research work, and the Research Center for Youth Problems was created by the prime minister's decree no. 25 of 21 July 1983.

"The prime minister's decree to create the Research Center for Youth Problems was issued in accordance with proposals worked out in the Bureau of Youth Affairs with the participation of a group of scholars who are concerned with young people's problems and after appropriate consultations with interested ministries," says Adam Siedlecki, director of the Cabinet Department's Bureau of Youth Affairs. "It was created from the reorganization of the Institute for Research on Youth [IBnM], which belonged to the minister of education. This solution was simply the result of concern for rationality and economy of activity, so as not to continue creating new structures and scientific-research staff but to make use of the foundation which already exists."

The Institute for Research on Youth was interested only in young people of schoolage, but there exists a need for developing research on all age groups in the young generation, and it is precisely in regard to these expectations that the Prime Minister's decree was issued. The headquarters of the Research Center for Youth Problems is in Warsaw, but local units can be created.

The new center will belong to the minister of youth affairs, who, together with the head of the cabinet department, will be its supervisor. Thus the



center is to be a sort of scientific-research base for the Cabinet Committee for Youth Affairs, which is a joint organ of the government. The resolutions creating the Cabinet Committee for Youth Affairs and defining the activities of the Minister for Youth Affairs provide for both the committee and the minister to commission or initiate research on youth. Thus the resolutions have set up close cooperation between the administration and the scientific milieu.

Because of the very broad range of youth problems the center will have an interdisciplinary character. Its areas of interest will embrace all circles of youth--school children, college students, workers, rural youth, the young intelligentsia, and the scientific cadre. Its basic goal will be to inspire nationwide scientific research and training work on youth affairs in order to learn in a scientific manner the problems and strivings of the young generation and then to inform the state organs and social opinion about the conditions of development and the economic, cultural, and educational needs of the various circles.

The center will also conduct comparative research in relation to the situation of young people in other countries. The next task is to collect and evaluate the conclusions of scientific research on youth affairs which have been reached and published by various scientific-research personnel.

For the organs of the authorities and the state administration, and especially for the Cabinet Committee for Youth Affairs, the preparation of current reports and information about the results of research conducted in the nation and in other countries is an unusually important and essential task. The reports will be the basis for forming directions in policy with regard to young people and for undertaking concrete decisions.

The center will also support improvement of scientific cadres specializing in youth problems. At present there are not too many scientists who engage in research on youth affairs, and if one is to think realistically about developing systematic research, then the training of appropriate cadres, or best of all of young scientists who understand the problems of youth and could study such matters for a long time, is essential.

Such a broad range of tasks for the center led to the necessity of filling the gaps in problems connected with research, and especially in carrying out comparative research. Up until now there simply was no agency which collected information about how much, and what kind of, research is conducted in other centers.

A scientific council will be concerned with scientific and cadre problems. The minister for youth affairs will soon work out a statute for the center defining its structure and precisely stating its tasks.

Director A. Siedlecki made it clear that he has no intention of evaluating the activity engaged in up to now by the Institute for Research on Youth and that both the resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR CC [Central

Committee] and the "government's program to improve the young people's start in life and in work" simply made it obligatory to undertake systematic scientific research on the basic problems of the young generation. In order to avoid creating new institutes, the Research Center for Youth Problems with its much broader range of activity was created on the base of the IBnM and with the use of its cadres.

It remains only to express the hope that the reports and research results worked out in the center are used by the political and administrative authorities in a broader area than they have been up to now. All programs and current decisions should be based on an accurate discernment of the needs and expectations of the young generation. Instead of the illusions of "another Poland," "another Japan," or "the generation of great prospects," a straightforward program is necessary. And a well informed person does not err, unless perhaps he himself wants to.

9451

CSO: 2600/1208

## RELIGIOUS, MORAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PAPAL VISIT CONTEMPLATED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 32, 7 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Editorial by Andrzej Micewski: "A Moment of Contemplation"]

[Text] After the pope's Polish pilgrimage we need a moment of contemplation.

Quite generally the second visit of John Paul II to his native land is spoken of as a pilgrimage of hope. No person, no society, no nation can live without hope. The pope understands this well and came to give us hope, to strengthen us morally and psychically in this way. Certain western journalists have reproached the holy father with arousing in Poland hopes which are impossible to fulfill. Such a view results from an exclusively political and not religious look at the pope's Polish pilgrimage. The hopes aroused by the holy father need to be considered in their eschatological and historical as well as their political dimensions. When the pope speaks of freedom, he has in mind above all the general conditions of a person's attainment of his or her final, supernatural end. In the course of 20 centuries of Christianity, there have been announcements of truths and callings to aims whose realization was remote. That evangelical truths and divine commandments have very often not been fulfilled, absolutely does not mean that they were false. Neither the church nor the pope sets actual political goals but both indicate the values which give worth to the social life of a person created in the image and likeness of God.

It would be hypocritical and pharisaical to assert that the visit of John Paul II to Poland did not have political aspects. But it was a pilgrimage, not a political journey. A pilgrimage to a land which finds itself in a difficult situation and in a deep crisis had to evoke exclusively political interpretations as well. The pope did not, however, make political declarations, but preached on the rights of religion and the Church, the rights of the individual and the moral rights of a nation. The holy father was original in his teaching, which revealed his fascinating extraordinariness. But in none of the above-mentioned points of his teaching did the pope deviate from the postwar spiritual and intellectual tradition of the Church in Poland. That is why he so often quoted the late primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. He also referred to the pastoral documents of the Polish episcopacy from most recent times. John Paul II raised in a manner fitting, original and appropriate to the circumstances of place and time, the issues and problems which have been the chief concern of the church in Poland throughout the entire postwar period. This especially involves the teachings of the holy father on the national sovereignty and spiritual identity

of the Poles. The question here is the higher values in Polish culture and in the consciousness of our society. These values have their political aspect but above all their historical dimension. The pope spoke of these values in the context of the various decisive events in all of Polish history. For these events absolutely form the kernel of our separateness and the major trait of the common Polish consciousness. Whoever does not understand this will never understand the Poles and will never solve any Polish problem. But he who fully appreciates this will make of Poland an ally and a strong bastion of peace and harmony in Europe.

Now, I have read in ZYCIE WARSAWY that our identity is, among other things, a return to the held western territories.

Such an evasion of the problem leads nowhere. I am uncompromisingly a partisan of Poland's present territorial shape. But let us be sincere; when one speaks of the sovereignty of the nation and the identity of the Poles, it is a question not of territorial-political problems but of spiritual and social ones. Sovereignty, that is the subjectivity of a nation, means its influence on its own history and shaping of social life. When one speaks of the identity of the Poles, it is a matter, above all, of their loyalty to the spiritual origins of Christian-Latin European culture. I am speaking here not of a denominational problem but a general cultural and national problem which believers, agnostics and atheists share in large measure. For after all, it is hard to deny that the words "European culture" denote an actual and concrete system of values at the core of which are found the rights of the human being and of the national community. The realization of this system of values is, on the one hand, the hope of the Poles, and, on the other, the program of the Polish Church, a program supported by all the authority of the pope, the head of the universal Church. It is a program with historical dimensions; it is derived from all Polish history and its realization will come about also on a historical plane, [---] [Law from 31 July 1981, on the control of publications and exhibitions, art. 2, points 2 and 3 (DZ. U. number 20, item 99)].

We are not a solitary island. We lie in the very center of Europe, a subcontinent threatened, especially at present, by the growth of international tension. The maximalism of our final, spiritual and cultural goals cannot disregard objectively-conditioned international tensions. Polish affairs are, of course, most important to us. But in the eyes of European societies the most important matter at the moment is that of medium-range missiles. This last fact fixes the bounds and possibilities of the realization of our hopes and authorized endeavors. The hopes with which the pope filled our hearts are not unrealistic, but they have a historical dimension, they will be realized within the bounds of historical development. On the other hand, the spiritual, moral and cultural values which form the ideological foundations of our hopes are timely now and always, not just at the moment when the objective possibilities for their realization arise. Therefore the pope fully had the right to speak in the framework of his pilgrimage about these values and these hopes. Maximalism along the line of values and a rational look at the paths leading to their realization make for faithfulness to principles and for a contemporary sense of reality. It would be worthwhile for those people to consider this in their consciences who at the least opportunity recall the incidental article about Catholic minimalism since 1946, in order to outdo others in this way. The

moment of gravity and contemplation after the pope's visit should incline us not to a cheap contest but to a precise definition of the exceptional values and to a search for the diverse paths--historically and politically conditioned--leading to the realization of these values. Let us be willing, also, to take into consideration the fact that the Polish Church, being both through the ages and at present the depository of the values closest to Polish society, was and is simultaneously the guardian of social peace and of national dialogue and mediation. Perceiving all the aspects of the teachings of the pilgrim Pope and all the practical efforts of the Polish Church, about which the holy father spoke in an address to the Polish bishops at Czestochowa, we should receive the gift of spiritual peace and the consequences of work for the church and for Polishness, work free from shallow rivalries over the purely political aspirations, if he or she regards them as judicious and real. But it must never be forgotten that the mission of the church is higher than political aspirations and that at no time can one misuse religions and faiths for political aims. Meanwhile, the obliteration of the separation between religious and political planes has become the common practice of certain Catholic circles. To repeat, I do not refuse anyone the rights to the realization of aspirations which he or she acknowledges as important. But the moment of contemplation following the visit of the holy father ought to contribute to a greater concern about a practical understanding of the higher plane of the Church's role and mission.

I am not writing a commentary on the holy father's visit but am proposing a moment of mediation on the consequences resulting from this journey. Very helpful in these considerations is the speech entitled "The Truth Must Be Heard," given by the pope in Czestochowa on 19 June to the Polish bishops. The speech opened with the holy father's renewed homage to the late Cardinal Wyszynski. It was a question not only of the primate personally but also of the program with which he had entrusted the Church during the more than 30 years of his pastoral service. How well the holy father remembers this I personally witnessed. When John Paul II met me at a supper given by the primate Cardinal Glemp, he immediately referred, with great cordiality, to what I had written about the late primate of the millenium. In one of his most important speeches in Poland, namely the address to the bishops, he referred to almost the entire program of Cardinal Wyszynski. He spoke particularly about those parts of it which have, in the past, elicited doubts and polemics on various sides; and then about the emphasis by no the Virgin Mary in Polish Catholicism, an emphasis by means consistent with the Christocentrism of Catholicism. The holy father linked this splendidly, besides, with the now ongoing Year of Redemption. He spoke, naturally, of the problem of life, and so of the life of the unborn, which had been the subject of innumerable battles between Primate Wyszynski and officials, and which unfortunately constitutes a dark blemish in a practice from somewhere else that affects Polish Catholicism. Finally he spoke of the problem of nationality. Here I cite his words, since they were original and profound:

"Long historical experience, especially that of the last centuries, and maybe even more so of the last decade, recommends that the Church in Poland abide in a deep bond with the people. This is an evangelical and pastoral bond along the line of the entire contemporary Church's aspiration to be--in the spirit of the gospels and of Vatican II--'The Church of the Poor,' although by no means therefore closed to anyone, either any social group or any individual. 'For man is the first and fundamental way of the Church,' as the 'Redemptor hominis' expressed it in the encyclical."

In the moment of contemplation following the pope's pilgrimage it is worth emphasizing that the holy father takes up the issue of nationality and of the individual, and especially the issue of individual freedom, jointly and not in opposition to each other. Evidence of this approach is found in the entire text of the discussed address to the bishops as also in all the teachings of John Paul II generally. The consequences resulting from this should entail an obligation for Polish Catholics. In the circles of the Polish Catholic elite there is an excessive protraction of opposition between Catholicism struggling for independence and national Catholicism, even though the synthesis of these two traditions is perfectly well contained in the universalism of the Catholic religion. The opposition of national and independence-seeking considerations in Catholicism did have an objective basis when one camp, National Democracy, was trying to appropriate and monopolize the religious feelings of believers. This attempt never succeeded, however, and believing Catholics before the war belonged to nearly all the Polish political groups. Nationalism as historical ideology has played an important role in the history of modern political currents in Poland, and alongside its errors we should also perceive its contributions to the Polish cause. But the rekindling of nationalistic tradition at present is simply a misunderstanding. Very likely Polish consciousness and national feeling are unrivalled in Europe and that is very good. We all protect these values by speaking of the nation's sovereignty and spiritual identity. But one cannot put an equal sign between these values and a notion of nationalism which has never been free from a distinction that is inconsistent with Catholicism, antipluralistic and bound to turn the people absolutely against minorities and against other countries, and so against the individual, about whom the pope was speaking. Naturally, proofs of a reactivation of nationalistic sentiments evoke reactions in the shape of exaggerated apprehensions, nowadays, in the face of a clear emphasis on national problems. So one also cannot fall into some antinationalistic psychosis, because although at the moment nationalism in Poland is often implemented, in and of itself it is decidedly a historical orientation. Therefore the synthesis of national and independence-seeking traditions in the spirit of Catholic universalism seems in Poland an important and imperative factor in strengthening the unity of the Church. From precisely this point of view it seems to me very important that the holy father spoke simultaneously of freedom and the nation. Let us remember, also, that his leading thought was clearly to establish freedom and national values as indispensable for a human being. The human being, after all, and his or her rights lie always and unalterably at the heart of John Paul II's teachings about the temporal conditions of aspiration towards the supernatural.

Finally I would still like to take into consideration the emphasis laid by the holy father on "the need to hear the truth." The pope knows perfectly well that everyone has, along with the need for freedom, an individual guardian spirit of truth and is fully capable of distinguishing the truth from this or that verbal facade. The holy father also expressed thanks to the Polish episcopacy for meeting, as far as it was able, the people's need to hear the truth in our land. The Holy Father said: "Over the course of recent years and months I have assiduously investigated the pronouncements of the episcopacy's conferences, particularly the announcements from the plenary meetings. I referred to certain excerpts from these speeches in my word to the Poles at the time of general Wednesday audiences or on other occasions. Moreover, it seemed to me that the announcements from the episcopacy's conferences fulfilled Polish

society's greatly aroused need to hear the truth. Truth is the first and fundamental condition for social renewal. Without it there can be no talk of a social dialogue, which the episcopacy so rightly postulated and which society awaits with certitude. For Polish society has a right precisely to everything that guarantees it a unique subjectivity, or a sum of rights resulting from the very nature of human beings or of national community."

Meditating on the entire teachings of the holy father during his second pilgrimage to this country, I cannot help feeling wonder at the unity of these texts. The pope spoke to various social groups and in various areas of the land; he adjusted his instruction to the psychological and local needs of his listeners, to the circumstances which determined the subject of each of his homilies. One thing, however, was common to all the homilies. Always the same values found expression, values deriving above all from nature itself: the rights of the human being or the of the national community. The pope put together a mosaic, whose individual parts made up a coherent, unified whole. I should add that this unity did not pertain only to the pope's individual lessons and appearances. This unity extended to the entire Polish Church. In the main, through John Paul II's appearances the directions of all the Church's postwar work found confirmation and the achievements of the main designer of this work, Cardinal Wyszynski, gained a literally monumental position. Also, there was an emphasis on what a heavy burden lies on the shoulders of the new primate, Cardinal Glemp, along with his ecclesiastical post, and at the same time a reminder of the support which he gets from the collegiate union of the episcopacy's conferences. The unity of all the factors mentioned by the pope is, by my reckoning, totally evident. I have read documents of the time certifying what kind of acknowledgement for the work of the episcopacy's conferences both popes John XXIII and Paul VI expressed to Cardinal Wyszynski. The preeminence of the primate and the collegiality of the episcopacy in no case make for opposed principles, especially, as John Paul II stressed, "in the face of the development of events in the fatherland." Thus the pope's visit was an important and influential sign of the church's unity in Poland and its unity with Christ's representative, the bishop of Rome, the Holy Father John Paul II.

All this makes for a great moral strength. And the moral factor in the life of a society certainly plays a larger role than is commonly supposed. The significance of the factor generally appears at times of ordeal and at turning points. John Paul II's visit becomes memorable if only in his reminder of the moral unity of the Polish Church. In the present moment of contemplation, before the inevitable new tests and turns of history, we ought to take heed that we do not diminish this value by any individual meanness, particularism or a lack of courage as believers. We are a poor society with a complicated history. We need a great deal of patience and sense if our hopes are to be realized. Deprived of much of the wealth and many of the benefits of modern civilization, we must preserve the most important treasure we have: the moral forces of Polish society.

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KIELCE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Kielce Province Party Resolution

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 10 May 83 p 4

[Resolution of 26 Apr 83 of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee: "Resolution of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee Concerning the Educational Function of Work Establishments--the Vocational Training of Youth for the Needs of the National Economy"]

[Text] The implementation of economic-production tasks by work establishments is integrally linked to educational activities pursued among the workforces. Its effects are the level and quality of the output produced as well as a large number of nonmeasurable effects that are of basic importance to the functioning of society.

Proper influence on members of the workforce is a basic purpose of the activity of plant party organizations. In view of the need to improve ideological-educational work and assure a proper cadre development and functioning of the plants, the Province Committee deems necessary the adoption of the following measures:

1. Regarding Improvements in Cadre Policy

--Plant party organizations shall review the current systems for evaluating employees. The related evaluation criteria should be public and explicit, and their results should provide the basis for pursuing a deliberate cadre and personnel policy. The plant party committee (KZ) and the basic party organization are obligated to assure that the management apply these systems.

--Party echelons and organizations are obligated to take, jointly with the administration, measures to establish a cadre reserve for the lower and middle supervisory levels of management and to work systematically with that cadre. The cadre should be selected on allowing for the interests of working youth in accordance with the resolutions of the 9th Central Committee Plenum and the Province Committee. That reserve should be continually vetted.

--The party organization and the top management of the plants should attend to a high occupational, professional and ideological-moral level of the employees of employee services. The work of these cells and their employees should be periodically evaluated by party organizations. It should result in the integration and comprehensive action of these services. The Province Committee



will recommend to the founding bodies that they perform such evaluations at principal plants of the province.

--On the basis of the application of employee evaluation criteria, the plant management should develop and apply its own material and extra-material incentive systems for employees. These systems should be opined upon and accepted by party and youth organizations, trade unions and worker self-governments.

## 2. Regarding Socio-Vocational Adaptation

--The forms of work and contacts between vocational schools and work establishments need further improvement, particularly as regards plant-maintained vocational schools training the basic plant personnel. In this respect the aim should be the optimal selection of vocational instructors from among outstanding foremen and brigade leaders and chiefs and the extension of the plant incentive system to their activities.

Greater concern and care from plant party organizations are required for the school organizations of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP).

In the educational-upbringing process vocational instruction should be more and more consistently linked to ideological indoctrination and the shaping of committed attitudes among youth.

Plant party organizations and plant management shall pay attention to the proper organization of the curriculum for on-the-job training of students and secondary-school youth as well as to adherence to the schedule for that training.

--Party organizations and management of work establishments should devote more attention to caring for newly hired employees, and especially school graduates.

--Plant party organizations should, through the mediation of their members, influence the socio-political organizations and scientific-technical societies operating within enterprises, with the object of the dissemination and broad conduct of verified and accepted forms of educational influence on the workforces.

--The traditions of individual vocations should be nurtured and imbued with proper importance and prestige among students and school graduates by awarding vocational distinctions and promoting participation in festivities in honor of the Day of the Miner, the Day of the Foundryman, etc.

--Party organizations should systematically require of plant management that it draft and implement plant programs for ideological-educational work and programs for the humanization of work.

--Party organizations and plant management should provide every assistance to trade unions and youth organizations in expanding their cultural activities, obtaining Saturday-Sunday recreation and promoting all forms of workforce integration. The basic party echelons should assure that the state administrative agencies would draft and implement programs for cultural and educational activities at the habitations of the workforces. Plant management is obligated to participate in implementing these programs.

### 3. Regarding Vocational and Academic Education

--Employee services and management of work establishments shall continually improve the work on the organization and programming of various forms of training and selection of candidates. Party organizations and management should focus on constantly improving and advancing vocational knowledge, as well as the socio-political knowledge of the managerial cadre at all levels.

--The cadre of the higher educational institutions in Kielce Province should be utilized to a greater degree in order to improve the qualifications of workforces through joint organizations of training and courses in both vocational and socio-political knowledge.

--The Province Committee recommends to the Office of the Inspector General for Education and Upbringing as well as to the Employment Department of the Province Office that they update vocational training programs in supra-elementary schools from the standpoint of adapting the labor force to the needs of the province's economy.

--The Province Committee supports the initiative for establishing the Province Educational Fund to be financially sponsored by work establishments, perceiving therein the possibility for a major change in the material base of the school system. At the same time, it appeals to the plant party organizations for emulating this initiative at their plants.

### 4. Regarding the Political Work of Party Organization With the Cadres

--Party organizations should organize, inspire and evaluate the whole of ideological-upbringing work with the plant workforces. The related activities should be aimed at constant expansion of knowledge, shaping socialist socio-moral attitudes among all employees, prompting ambition and commitment to the affairs of the work establishment and the community, and utilizing and advancing the qualifications of the workforces and particularly of management at all levels.

--The scope of the influence of propaganda on the workforces should be broadened by means of open party meetings and through enrichment of the forms of work of centers for ideological-upbringing activities, plant radio stations and visual propaganda.

--The importance of person-to-person talks, party tasks and party evaluations should be consistently enhanced at meetings and executive boards of plant party organizations.

--Party organizations shall promote a consistent application of the text of the resolution of the Reports-Programs Conference referring to the functioning of trade unions and worker self-government and the forms of their educational influence on the workforces.

The Executive Board of the Province Committee shall periodically assess the extent to which this Resolution is being implemented.

Executive Board on Rural Self-Government Functions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 15 Jun 83 p 2

[Unsigned article: "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee"]

[Text] During its session yesterday the Executive Board of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee listened to several reports, including a report on educational work in sports and the expansion of sports facilities. Many sports clubs such as Tecza, Lechia, Blekitni, Budowlani or Korona, have gained considerable experience and accomplishments in working with youth and shaping its characters. But it is difficult at the same time not to perceive omissions and shortcomings associated with the expansion of sports, the improper behavior of organized groups of pseudo-fans at various sports exhibitions and contests, or the reprehensible behavior of the contestants themselves. Hence the pressure on educational work in all sports clubs, on the proper organization of games. Linking sports activities to schools also is important. For we shall never have good sports unless we awaken interest in them among the youngest generation, at schools. Yet it is at schools precisely that we encounter the greatest difficulties, for there is a shortage of appropriate facilities and trained coaches.

In general, facilities are the weakest link of Kielce sports. In every related indicator we stand below the national average: stadiums, running tracks, gym rooms, let alone indoor swimming pools and tennis courts. Many facilities require complete modernization and repair. Hence also the appeal to the local authorities for more interest in sports investments, for completion of every sports facility under construction or repair.

The next report considered by the Executive Board of the Province Committee dealt with the functioning of rural self-government. Of major importance to its further growth and consolidation are the parliamentary decrees on socio-occupational organizations of farmers and on the rights of cooperatives. These decrees have contributed to the revival of the activities of agricultural circles, branch trade unions and rural cooperatives. This is demonstrated by the following figures: Of the 1,400 agricultural circles active in Kielce Province as of the end of May of this year, more than 1,000 have already held their reports-elections meetings. Soon the gmina [parish] congresses serving to sum up the achievements so far and determine the tasks for the immediate future, will come to an end.

Following the promulgation of the decree on the law code for cooperatives, self-governing bodies have gained considerable autonomy of decisions on directions of development of cooperatives, investments of cooperative funds and elections and recalls of board members at their cooperatives. The rights of member committees have been markedly expanded with regard to both the distribution and supervision of scarce goods and services in stores. General meetings of gmina cooperatives, at which new statutes and programs of socio-economic action are being adopted, are taking place throughout the province. Gardening and dairy cooperatives have revived markedly. At their meetings not only statutes and programs but also socio-economic initiatives are adopted. As a result, direct producers increasingly identify themselves with their cooperatives.

Self-government does not readily occupy its due place everywhere, and neither does it become everywhere all at once the actual boss of its cooperative. The difficulties and obstacles on this path have to be overcome. The point is that the direct producer, that is, the farmer, should be served optimally. And this

precisely is the climate that should be created by all the party echelons and organizations operating in the countryside.

During is yesterday's deliberations the Executive Board also listened to comments from the Socio-Economic Commission of the Province Committee and the Province Team for the Economic Reform concerning the draft socio-economic plan and conservation program for Kielce Province through the period ending in 1985, which soon will be a topic of deliberations by the Province People's Council, and it evaluated the performance of the Morawice Gmina PZPR Committee.

#### Kielce Plenum on Status of Forestry

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 29 Jun 83 pp 1,2,3,6

[Unsigned report: "The Forests--A Natural Resource To Be Exploited: Plenum of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee"]

[Text] /Yesterday's deliberations of the province party echelon in Kielce dealt with evaluating the state of forestry and forest industry in Kielce Province./  
[printed in boldface]

The session was attended by members of the presidia of the Province Audit Commission (WKR) and the Province Party Control Commission (WKKP), the province representatives of the central PZPR authorities, members of the Presidium of the Province People's Council (WRN), first secretaries of local party echelons and heads of Province Committee departments and regional centers of party work.

It was also attended by experts and managers of forestry enterprises and organizations, forest industry plants, pulp and paper plants and furniture factories, as well as by representatives of the Swietokrzyski National Park and province boards of the League for the Preservation of Nature (LOP) and the PTL [expansion unknown], as well as by the province nature warden and the province game warden.

Others attending the plenum included: Janusz Basiak, candidate member of the party Central Committee, chairman of the Forestry-Timber Commission under the Central Committee and secretary of the Tarnobrzeg Province PZPR Committee; Witold Stasinski, deputy chief of the Agricultural Department of the party Central Committee; Jozef Kardys, deputy minister of forestry and timber industry; Czeslaw Kozak, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) and chairman of the Kielce Province ZSL Committee, and members of province boards of youth organizations and the administrative authorities of Kielce Province.

Inaugurating the session, Maciej Lubczynski, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee, stressed the importance of forestry to the region. He declared that, among other things, the forests continue to be devastated and destroyed even though they provide natural wealth. "We are not expressing sufficient alarm over the state of the dying Fir Forest and the forested areas that are being ruined by the dusts and impurities of the 'white basin.'"

The report of the Executive Board of the Province Committee assessing the status of forestry and forest industry in Kielce Province was presented by Jaroslaw Motyka, Province Committee secretary. Nineteen persons took the floor during the ensuing discussion.

The adopted resolution specifies the tasks of improving the state of forestry and the effectiveness of the management of the timber industry in Kielce Province.

As regards organizational matters, on the proposal of the Executive Board of the Province Committee changes in the membership of the province party echelon were carried out. At their own request, Leszek Kunicki, Marian Lachowski and Wladyslaw Nieczajew were relieved of the duties of Province Committee members. The candidate members of the Province Committee Marian Gadka of Sedziszow, Stanislaw Gorazda of Ostrowiec and Jerzy Sliwak of Konskie were appointed to full membership in the Province Committee.

Changes in the membership of the problem-oriented commissions of the Province Committee were carried out. In view of the need to devote special attention to problems of health care and environmental protection a new commission, the Commission for Health and Environmental Protection, has been appointed under the Province Committee.

During the deliberations the decision of the Executive Board of the Province Committee to recall Kazimierz Winiarczyk from the post of director of the Regional Center of Party Work (ROPP) in Starachowice was accepted (in view of his transfer to a post at the ministry of education), as was the decision to appoint Mieczyslaw Sobierajski director of the ROPP in Busk and Piotr Idzkiewicz director of the ROPP in Starachowice.

The plan of activities of the Executive Board of the Province Committee for the third quarter of this year was accepted.

The Plenum ended with singing "The International."

#### Discussion

Highlights of the Report Presented by Jaroslaw Motyka, Secretary of the PZPR Province Committee

Forestry is an important sector of the economy and a major source of national income. It has a fundamental influence on the ecological balance and the evolution of man's natural environment. Hence also the resolutions of the 9th Congress and the 11th Joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee, appreciating the importance of the problem, pointed to the need to improve forestry and link it more closely to the national economy, for many branches of the economy simply could not exist without timber.

The forested area of Kielce Province occupies nearly 245,000 hectares or more than 26 percent of its overall area. One-fifth of the forested area is owned by private farmers. The natural conditions in Kielce Province are favorable to forest production. The problem is that one-third of our forests is menaced, chiefly by the negative influence of industry as well as by parasites, insects, fungi and natural disasters.

Even so, the forest industry of Kielce Province makes a major contribution to the province's economy. In 1982 the value of its output reached more than 7.5 billion zlotys. The industry provides a broad variety of goods--dealboard, paper products, packagings, furniture and foodstuffs. This is because, on the whole, forestry personnel works devotedly. It includes a sizable number of party members. The difficult socio-occupational and social-service problems are being solved not only by party members and organizations but also with the participation of the nascent worker self-governments and trade unions. The self-governments have been appointed and started their statutory activities at all forest-industry plants. The process of the formation of trade unions is ending; at several plants registration and elections still continue.

The most urgent tasks facing us today include:

#### Improvements in the Sanitary Conditions of Forests

This concerns a broad range of nursery, cultivation and protection problems, the more so considering that the present situation of our forests is far from the best. The neglect of seedling operations hampers adequate production of seedling materials. This refers chiefly to such tree species as the linden, the sorb and the larch. It is becoming necessary to reorganize the existing nurseries, enlarge their area, improve the variety of species cultivated, and mechanize operations on a broader scale. The seedlings obtained at the expense of such great efforts should be fully utilized. The numerous instances in which organizations and institutions fail to accept previously ordered seedlings and bushes should not be tolerated.

The state of forest cultivation operations is justifiably alarming and deserves criticism. To be sure, they are practiced on the required scale and meet the needs, but there are reservations about their quality. This concerns both protective clearings and off-schedule logging.

The negative influence of industry on the forests of Kielce Province is becoming a problem. In practice this concerns the entire province, but it is at its worst in the region of the "white basin" and sulfur extraction. The steady growth of dust pollution and gaseous emissions cause the decay of not only the fir, the spruce and the pine but also the oak. The scale of the problem is demonstrated by the fact that within the Kielce Forestry Inspectorate alone documented damage caused by industry exceeds 6,000 hectares of forest area and the resulting loss is estimated at 30 million zlotys. Unless the continuing devastation of the forests is resolutely and effectively stopped, within the next few years the environs of major urban centers, to which the forests have so far represented natural lungs, will be irreversibly degraded.

A major problem in maintaining the proper condition of forests is the elimination of damages due to weather conditions. Off-schedule transportation of timber causes it to depreciate in value and usefulness. This matter urgently requires resolution through organizational improvements within the forestry areas themselves--urgently, because the quantity of unremoved timber in the forests of Kielce Province is estimated at 80,000 cubic meters.

As part of forest cultivation, special attention is required by the reforestation of fir forests, which have been seriously damaged by an invasion of the fir moth,



particularly in the Swietokrzyski region. To be sure, preventive operations conducted for the last few years served to halt this menacing process, but nevertheless the danger to the fir tree cover remains considerable. Hence the need to intensify scientific research, spend more funds (including foreign exchange) on chemical pest control, acquire specialized equipment and eliminate the menace due to industry. A separate problem is the protection of the Swietokrzyski National Park, the preservation of its unique natural values. A team of experts has already drafted a program for the management of that park and a surrounding protective zone. Within that zone no environmentally dangerous industrial plants should be built and no activities upsetting the natural water conditions should be conducted.

Human behavior caused a great deal of damage to forests. We often encounter instances of carelessness and irresponsibility. The forests have been turned into dumps for garbage, scrap metal, dispensable building materials and all unnecessary household and industry objects. We must say "no" to all such attitudes, subject them to public criticism and support foresters and members of the League for the Protection of Wildlife in their struggle for the purity of our forests.

#### Efficient Management of Forest Resources

Proper forest management is based on a rigorous adherence to the principles of timber production, that is, in accordance with the quantities specified in the plans for discrete forestry areas. Disregard of these principles reduces our forest resources and impoverishes their production base. Our practice so far has painfully demonstrated this truth. Fortunately, in 1982 the situation has changed, but even so it would be worthwhile to examine the scale of logging operations in the forests surrounding Kielce. This concerns preserving the natural protective zone surrounding them and reducing the negative effects of industry on natural environment and living conditions.

Smooth supplies of timber for both industry and the market largely hinge on logging and transportation. While logging is not a major problem, transportation is a continuing problem. This is because 70 percent of all timber obtained is logged with the aid of hired peasant-owned horse-drawn vehicles. Thus it is becoming indispensable to explore new organizational solutions in this field and take effective steps to acquire appropriate mechanized equipment. The transportation of timber to processing plants also deserves a critical evaluation. This concerns the unnecessary "crisscrossing" of routes along which timber is transported. A situation in which certain kinds of timber are shipped out of Kielce Province and subsequently have to be shipped in from other provinces should be inconceivable in the future. This matter has to be coordinated not only by the administration of state forests.

Transportation is also linked to the smoothness of the deliveries of timber to the processing plants. Most wood industry plants and sawmills operate in the absence of reserves of that raw material. To eliminate such negative phenomena, appropriate rafting depots and sprinkling facilities have to be installed at processing plants.

It should be emphasized that sawmill lumber remains a scarce material. This affects adversely its supplies to the rural population. The possibilities for acquiring extra lumber from snow- and wind-break belts in addition to that

available on the market have alleviated the situation but not solved the problem. For it sometimes happens that short cuts of lumber are offered to farmers in lieu of planks. Given the shortage of lumber, such practices cannot be tolerated.

A major role in timber utilization is played by the processing plants. The largest of them--the Starachowice Timber Industry Enterprise, e.g. processes more than 40,000 cu m of timber a year. To be sure, it is implementing its targets, but it does not fully utilize its production capacities. The Kielce Furniture Factories and the Kielce Pulp and Paper Works implement their tasks well. They provide the market with substantial supplies. Nevertheless the workforces of nearly all the plants can increase output and broaden its variety, which would be an unusually useful thing from the standpoint of market supplies.

A problem that still is not properly appreciated is the utilization of the smaller cuts of timber and production wastes. Irrespective of the scope and scale of basic production at the principal industrial plants which fulfill their tasks in measure with the existing possibilities, we consider it expedient for them to undertake additional manufacturing of elementary products such as small tables, spades, benches, shelves, stakes and even elements of wood fencing. Such production should also be undertaken by the plants of labor cooperatives and rural cooperatives as well as artisan shops. The utilization of forest crops becoming increasingly important. In view of the shortage of gatherers, effective steps should be taken to intensify this process. The fruits of the forest have in the past been a considerable source foreign exchange to the national economy. The forest production divisions of LAS should resume their activities in this respect.

#### Working and Living Conditions of Personnel

Proper forest management and smooth operation of processing industry largely depend on the available technical facilities, expert personnel and the social and living conditions of rank-and-file personnel. The related situation varies. In principle, the major plants operate adequate technical facilities, while the facilities of the smaller plants are not as good and the on-site facilities directly in the forests leave much to be desired. Thus while the availability of power saws and radio telephones is adequate, we still lack motor vehicles for transporting personnel and equipment, trucks and machinery for building roads in forests. The insufficient repair facilities and non-uniform distribution of fueling stations also are a problem. These shortages are a major vexation to logging crews and often prevent the on-schedule fulfillment of the most urgent operations. The pace of construction so far has been such that no major changes in this field can be expected. Given the country's present economic situation, however, the solution of this problem by means of industrialized techniques cannot be expected. The only chance for improvement is afforded by the exploration of own individual solutions at discrete forestry districts, inclusive of construction based on own resources. Positive examples in this respect already have been provided in Starachowice, Barycza or Wloszczow, and the only thing missing is popularizing them. Energetic action will enable us to accomplish substantial progress in improving the housing situation of employees and providing attractive conditions for recruiting additional personnel. The needs are great, after all.



Of major importance to implementing the socio-economic tasks being discussed by the Province Committee will be the political-organizational activities of local and plant party echelons and organizations in forestry and timber-industry units and enterprises. The need to energize the work of the less active party organizations is unusually urgent. We pose this task primarily to local and plant party echelons and aktiv. For no one will solve for us the problems facing us. We have to surmount all kinds of resistance, stagnation and indifference. Local and plant party echelons and basic party organizations should undertake on a broader scale multi-faceted political work among forestry and timber-industry personnel. The awareness that surmounting the crisis also hinges on the performance of this important branch of the economy should be strengthened.

#### Discussion

Mieczyslaw Witecki, first secretary of the Zagnansk Gmina Party Committee:

Five forestry and timber-industry enterprises operate in our gmina [parish], including the Forestry Transport Center, the Timber Industry plant and the Forestry Technikum which this year is celebrating the 15th anniversary of its existence. I would like to focus on personnel problems. The abovementioned technikum trains foresters for about 11 provinces of Central Poland. Each year it is besieged by applicants. This year 235 basic school graduates applied for admission but only 60 were admitted. This is a paradox when we consider the shortages of skilled personnel in forestry and timber industry. The demand for qualified foresters will grow still further considering that the occupation of the gamekeeper--the immediate guardian and caretaker of some particular area or other--is possibly to be restored. The technikum in Zagnansk thus should be expanded. I am also proposing that the allotments of clothing and footwear to the branch's employees be increased. The extent of the befouling of forest areas, and especially of their outskirts, is alarming.

Zdzislaw Sylwestrzak, director, Kielce Furniture Factories:

The furniture industry lacks any special traditions in Kielce Province. Nevertheless, we attempt to increasingly meet the vast market demand. In 1970 our plant had reached its peak output, worth 750 million zlotys. The plan for last year was at a similar level, and the plan for this year postulates an increase in output by 9 percent (to 813 million zlotys). The variety of furniture manufactured has been broadened. We introduced a new furniture ensemble, the "Katarzyna," and expect to sell this year about 5,500 of these ensembles. Our "Lysica" and "Ewa" furniture also is in demand, and 70 percent of our furniture output is sold directly in Kielce Province. We try to adapt our production to the available supplies of domestic raw materials so as to avoid stoppages. Even so we have problems in procuring adhesives, varnishes and lining materials, for which the chemical industry demands that we pay in foreign exchange. To obtain dollars we are undertaking production of beds for export to Scandinavian countries. This year we will ship 600 beds and next year, 6,000. We also opened two factory stores and are modernizing our plant. We are short of skilled personnel. The possibilities for non-resident training of our current employees should be considered.

Adam Przesmycki, director, Gmina Agricultural Service in Piekoszow:

Forest management entails not only certain economic problems but also biological and ecological problems. Hence also the need for proper forest protection. What is more, a forester's job is not easy. The employees of this branch experience many social deprivations. For example, there is a shortage of housing for foresters. Adequate logging transport also is not available. The transport on hand in forestry areas is old and worn. Minor equipment, such as spare parts for power saws, also is lacking. Furthermore, foresters complain that the areas assigned to them are too large for effective supervision. The activities of the enterprises "living" off the forests should be synchronized with the object of forming a foreign-exchange fund for, e.g. the acquisition of means of forest protection.

State forests could use a reorganization. I propose that, in view of the specific nature of forests in Kielce Province, the District Board of State Forests be established in Kielce.

Jan Kos, director, Repair and Construction Center in Chmielnik:

In view of the existing neglects, the needs for forest construction are extremely large. Forestry districts should be relieved of the burden of construction operations. The Repair and Construction Center in Chmielnik, transferred to the jurisdiction of the District Administration of State Forests (OZLP) in Krakow 2 years ago, will this year handle 20 construction projects. The projects being built in the forests are particularly difficult from the organizational standpoint. Their sites are distant from the nearest access roads, and yet a broad range of construction--and installation--operations has to be carried out on them. The Center urgently needs 5 dump trucks, 2 power shovels, a crane, and 4 motor vehicles for transporting employees to distant construction sites. To streamline the operations it would be expedient to appoint a team for preparing and conducting construction projects in forests and to expand the base facilities. Housing construction for forest personnel would have a chance to develop if it would be allotted building materials on the same principles as housing construction [as published].

Maciej Dulnik, secretary, Basic Party Organization (POP) in the Ostrowiec Forestry Area:

The district's party organization is working on problems relating to the economic reform and the performance of the enterprise. At meetings and encounters with the workforce mention is made of the need for a public consultation of foresters about the draft decree on state forest farms so as to enable foresters to make appropriate comments and proposals.

Special attention should be paid to the rational use of timber. Timber whose exports have been suspended is rotting in depots because no one knows what to do with it: this should not be tolerated. Currently, forestry districts have a problem with the management of small plots transferred from the State Land Fund (PFZ), which often are too small for rational forestry management.

Tadeusz Nowacki, director, Province Department of the Food Management Bank:

This year the financial situation of forestry organizations has clearly improved. Unfortunately, the improvement has not everywhere been due to more efficient management and increased quantitative fulfillment of plans. For one-half of the organizations the ratio of increase in mean wage to productivity has been improper. However, the wages paid in forestry are relatively low compared with those paid in other branches. Only pay increases can attract an influx of manpower to forestry.

Financial discipline is inadequate in forestry organizations. Their financial reports on operational expenditures are not regularly submitted to the District Administration of State Forests (OZLP). The loans received are utilized only in half and the balance cannot be transferred to others who could have utilized these funds in addition to their regular allocations.

The assurance of proper financial management in forestry units requires placing them within the administrative structure of the province. This would facilitate settlements of accounts, the application of the anti-inflation programs and economical operations.

Wladyslaw Bysiak, member, Executive Board of the Province Committee, farmer from Leszczyca Village, Gorno Gmina:

Peasant-owned forests in Kielce Province altogether occupy the substantial area of 54,000 hectares. But they are both neglected and improperly utilized. To their owners, timber production counts most. They care little about cultivating the tree cover. Greater care for and supervision of these forests by forestry services is becoming needed.

I also believe that foresters in individual gminas should cooperate more actively with the activists of gmina people's councils, report to their sessions on the status of forests and, as the need arises, ask for assistance. More can be accomplished through joint efforts.

Doc Dr Hab Jerzy Cmak, research associate, Province Party School (WSP), chairman, Province Board of the League for the Preservation of Nature (LOP):

The relationship between man and forest is very close. The forests supply oxygen, which is indispensable to life. Thus the manner in which we live depends on the forests we have. A growing number of people understand this. The League for the Preservation of Nature has a membership of about 70,000, among whom youth predominates. LOP activists work hard to protect forests against destruction and devastation. But this is not enough. What matters is that the entire society should realize the importance to man of his natural environment. Everything should be done to preserve and save that environment. One condition for achieving this goal is the establishment of a separate District Administration of State Forests (OZLP) for this province, along with a research station that would develop techniques for protecting the province's forests.

Ryszard Wasiak, chief forester, Starachowice Forestry Area:

It is not yet too late for forest protection. In my opinion the establishment of a diagnostic station for the protection of the tree cover, particularly the fir

cover, is becoming necessary. For the fir is the most menaced species of tree in the Swietokrzyski forests. Such a station should cooperate closely with the OZLP.

The tree cover in Kielce Province has been markedly damaged by the activities of industry. It is thus necessary to improve work on seedling plantations. The area of these plantations is adequate but the variety of seedlings should be broadened. The trees most difficult to cultivate are the fir and the larch. Greater effort is needed to protect these tree species against extinction. Seed and seedling storage facilities are needed on forest farms.

Afforestation drives undertaken in the previous years have been quite successful. We should return to these useful traditions in both cities and villages.

Edward Dobosz, member, Executive Board of the Province Committee, Zagnansk:

The forests are our wealth, but it is deplorable that for 38 years they have been treated exclusively as a source of raw materials. Forestry and its personnel are not benefiting adequately from the revenues from sales of timber. The poorer grades of timber are left to decay and become a foci of the spread of pests instead of being utilized. Thousands of cubic meters of timber--much more than reported in the statistics--are rotting. Changing this situation requires modernizing the machinery pool of the logging establishments. In view of the general shortage of timber, this is an absolute must.

The forest economy does not afford opportunities for applying the economic reform in view of the lack of coordination between the logging industry and the forestry administration. This generates many problems which under the present system cannot be resolved.

Emil Borkowski, pensioner, Skarzysko:

For a long time the forest economy has been left out of the picture when discussing various national and province issues. Although it is already late, I propose that a commission for forestry affairs be set up under the PZPR Province Committee. This is justified by the importance of the problem. What matters is to progress from words to deeds, so that things will not go on as before. It is said that tourists are among those who destroy forests. Instead of merely complaining, something should be done about this. Is there really no way of preventing those who are devastating the forests?

Euzebiusz Gasior, director, Radom Timber Industry Enterprise:

The value of our annual output exceeds 2 billion zlotys of which the Kielce and Radom provinces account for one-half each. This also applies to employment. Our enterprise was established in 1950 and we have almost always been national leaders in quantity and quality of output and productivity of labor. Our performance in the first 5 months of this year has been even better than a year ago. It is true that little is being done about investments. This is due, however, to the unjustified trend followed in the years past and consisting in emphasis on gigantomania and shutdown of the smaller sawmills. We are attempting to surmount this tendency. Despite the economic crisis, we built a large crate production department in Zagnansk. Next year we want to start expanding the sawmill in Sedziszow.

Little has been done so far as housing construction for our personnel is concerned. We will want to change this on using, among other things, lumber for construction.

Wladyslaw Scibisz, chief forester, Ostrowiec Forestry Area:

A poor organizational structure is the source of many problems in forestry. For example, we are reproached for excessively low forest production. How can this production be increased considering that in the last few years the personnel of our forestry area has been almost completely replaced? There is no housing available for the young, and yet it is a precondition for exercising the functions of the forester. Besides, what can one person accomplish if he is responsible for an area of about 4,000 hectares? And yet, the forests require cultivation, especially considering that the Swietokrzyskie tree cover is aging. Thus the forests, especially the fir, larch and pine forests, have to be renewed. We have considerable problems with equipment, which is simply primitive. Hence also the results of tree-cutting are limited.

Feliks Bielawski, director, LAS Forest Production Establishment in Wloszczow:

The production of our plant is based on six sectors: one of them is the procurements and collection of forest crops: fruits, mushrooms and herbs. Some of these crops (berries and partridges) are exported. Compared with the previous years, the gathering of forest crops has declined, for the structure of the tree cover has changed. This is because mechanical logging destroys the forest underbrush and, in addition, interest in gathering forest fruits and mushrooms has declined. On the other hand, illegal purchases of these raw materials by persons from other provinces are taking place.

Our plant in addition buys up game and such farm crops as fruits and vegetables, and it also engages in processing. A major item is the production of sawed lumber, packagings and articles made of wood for the domestic market and exports. However, the production of crates and bast baskets is limited by the shortage of fresh timber. Many problems also are caused by the shortage of skilled workers. I thus propose that the Zagnansk or Starachowice technikum start training technologists specializing in woodworking.

Benedykt Kostecki, first secretary of the plant party committee at the Starachowice Timber Industry Enterprise:

At our plant, where women account for 51 percent of the workforce, there is extremely considerable absenteeism due to illness, which reaches as many as 450 persons daily out of a workforce of 2,000. The principal direction of party activities there is intra-party work intended to promote the autonomy of branch party organizations and restore trust and bonds among party members as well as bonds between the workforce and the party organizations. The stagnation in party groups which display no activism must absolutely be halted. The reason for this situation is lack of assistance from the branch party organizations and the plant party committee's executive board as well as the behavioral attitudes of certain party members.

Leszek Janczyk, first secretary of the plant party committee, Kielce Pulp and Paper Works:

In 1982 our enterprise has scored major accomplishments in production performance. A proper work climate, the committed attitude of the workforce and consistency in applying new economic-financial mechanisms served to obtain good production results. The output of the principal products has increased and productivity per employee has grown by 20 percent. Despite incomplete employment the financial performance has been 31 percent higher than planned. The plant party organization intends to integrate the workforce and surmount effects associated with the economic crisis. Its activities are positively appraised by the plant's workforce.

Jan Pawlikowski, first secretary, Lagow Gmina Party Committee:

The Lagow Forestry Area is one of the largest in Kielce Province comprising about 24,000 hectares of forests. A major problem is the mass death of fir trees owing to industrial pollution and the depredations of the torcitrid moth. At present 300 hectares of forest have to be cleared and planted with seedlings. The most threatened forestry sub-zones are Paprocice and Jeleniow. The personnel of this forestry area shall apply every effort to bring into order the sanitary condition of the forests, but the cannot always cope with all the tasks. Considerable assistance is provided by the OZLP in Krakow and school youth. In view of this the heads of the forestry area and the party organization propose to consider the possibility of reducing the forestry area in size. It is also necessary to build water collecting facilities in the region of Lagow and Paprocice. During the 1970s forests were thoughtlessly drained, with effects that make themselves felt to this very day.

Jozef Kardys, deputy minister of forestry and wood industry:

The report of the Executive Board of the Province Committee on the status of the province's forest economy and the comments of discussants paint an accurate picture of the situation. The proper utilization and cultivation of forests is not just an economic problem but a broad social issue. The drafting of a broad decree on the forest economy is currently nearing its end. That document will settle many matters. Greater integration of the forest economy with the wood industry is needed. The economic reform provides real possibilities for strengthening relations of partnership between these two sectors.

The forestry areas should act more operatively and show greater initiative in their investment operations and attempt to solve housing problems on their own. They have the possibilities for this: the profits gained and the so-called forest fund. A more efficient utilization of the 10,000 hectares of agricultural land within the forests of Kielce Province also is becoming indispensable.

The ministry's central authorities will in the very near future attend to improving the transport pool of forestry centers and providing personnel with work clothing.

Janusz Basiak, chairman, Forest-Wood Commission of the PZPR Central Committee:

The specter of ecological catastrophe menacing the Polish forests has to be mentioned and, above all, something should be done about it. Today it is not yet too late to come to the rescue. The Forest-Wood Commission of the Central Committee is attempting to define and implement the numerous related tasks.

In expanding the nation's industry we have not avoided mistakes which, being constantly repeated, caused and still cause the devastation and destruction of the natural environment. We should resolutely eliminate not only the consequences but also the causes of the neglect and destruction of forests.

Pursuant to provisions of the law, industry pays compensation for damage to forested areas, but this is not at all resulting in a decrease in the quantity of pollutants and impurities falling on our forests. Some industrial plants include such penalties and costs in their production cost, so that it is the entire society that pays for the damage caused by industry.

The forest exerts a tremendous influence on the entire natural environment, including agricultural production. By providing the right conditions for the life of the forests we are at the same time improving the natural conditions for the growth of agriculture.

The basic units of forestry administration should lead in participating to a greater extent in the co-management of the natural wealth represented by the forests. We should also exploit more efficiently the advantages of the economic reform to forest management.

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PROVINCIAL BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS' ACTIVITIES NOTED

More Workers Needed

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 5 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Biskup: "Jobs Seek People"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /There is no unemployment in our country. Yet, during office hours the narrow hallway is crowded with job applicants. The woman behind the counter window at the Employment Department of the Kielce City Office is hard to reach. The way is barred by a milling crowd of males who are suddenly desirous of finding a job "with the state." The conversations are brief and terse:/

/"How much? For how many? What about compensation payments? I rather prefer a temporary job or in private construction."/

/"What are your job skills?"/

/"What skills? I completed elementary school and that's that. It should be enough that I'm a man. No?"/

And so on, day after day, while the next chance in life is being sought. Males of indeterminate age, with unshaven cheeks. Women choking in the raw smoke of "Popularne" cigarettes. Those who have taken courses and completed vocational schools leave with job referrals. During the same period the habitues manage to refuse a score or so of more or less attractive job offers. Their entire energy is directed toward solving the dilemma of how to get the most "bread" with the least effort. Incredible as it may seem, there are more than 50 job vacancies for every job seeker in Kielce Province. To be sure, there are no vacancies for directors, officials, specialists, or managers, but there is a continuing shortage of charwomen, custodial personnel, fitters, mechanics and blue-collar workers. At every industrial enterprise the personnel director says the same thing in unison:

"The increase in production hinges on sufficient manpower. We are ready to hire immediately several hundred workers for direct production. Jobs seek people."



We had feared unemployment as the economic reform was to streamline the labor market. Thus an earlier retirement age had been decreed so as to assure enough jobs for graduates of higher, secondary and vocational schools. Somewhere a mistake was made, however, because after a few months the manpower balance turned lopsided, with too many jobs becoming unfilled.

How do industrial enterprises manage in this difficult situation? How can workers be attracted to industrial jobs? How is manpower recruited in plants at which shortages of blue-collar workers are particularly keen?

The NOWINY Cement Plant is one of the largest of its kind in Poland. It employs 2,000 people. Since the beginning of this year 130 persons applied for job discharges. The reasons given tersely and in awkward handwriting on the squared paper of the application forms are: desire to return to the countryside, need to change place of residence, low wages, lack of housing in the environs, commuting problems. People are leaving the plant's departments generally thought to have the most arduous working conditions: railroad, packing, grinding mills, raw material, traffic control--railroaders, packers, unskilled workers, charwomen, grinding mill operators. The resulting job vacancies are difficult to fill. Young people are not at all anxious to work in a dusty, noisy atmosphere, at monotonous technological operations. Older, unskilled people, too, are not eager to work under conditions hazardous to health. Thirty jobseekers had been referred to this cement plant. On arriving with referrals from the Employment Department in their hands, the men stuck it out on their jobs for a few days. The hardiest stuck it out for two or three weeks. Then they quit work and scatter throughout the country. Thus, the municipal employment department is not too reliable a source of manpower. Wlodzimierz Szemraj, the personnel director at the cement plant, argues that this is not a special problem but a normal aspect of work in cement industry. Each year the turnover at NOWINY reaches the round figure of 350 persons. That is how many are discharged, and how many hired. Of course, there are some months and departments in which manpower shortages markedly impair the smoothness of operations. But that is the fault of the middle-level supervisors and management. "Examples? Sure: the railroad department at present (in July of this year) employs about 45 percent of the workforce. So many people are away on vacation and medical leaves." Analysis of the manpower situation at the cement plant has to allow for the fact that most of the workforce in that industry are peasants whose interest in working "for the state" is minimal during the season of harvesting and field operations--a season of vacation leaves, sudden ailments and absenteeism. In addition, the organization of labor in the department leaves something to be desired. Thus, for several months each year the membership of the work brigades diminishes markedly. Where five persons should work, only two or three work, in summer.

Awareness of this fact has led to growing talk at NOWINY about the need to analyze employment and evaluate certain jobs from the standpoint of automating, mechanizing and modernizing them. For example, the automation of the rubble conveyer, elimination of human attendants from belt operations, is needed. A review of workstations has been initiated. A simplified structure of management is needed. Reducing the number of office workers and paper-handling jobs in the preparation of reports and documents can result in increasing the staffing of production departments. For the second half of the year yet another broad review of employment in production jobs is planned. Since willing applicants are scarce, the problem has to be resolved by combining certain positions. It may be that a blue-collar worker will perform additional job functions and be classified in a

higher wage category. Such a compensation would make it possible to maintain smoothness of operations at the departments where it is needed most; this is a necessity given the current manpower situation. Here it is worth noting that recently this Kielce cement plant has been performing well economically. In view of this, an across-the-board wage increase of 4 zlotys per hour has been introduced for 60 percent of NOWINY's workforce, enabling the workers to increase their monthly earnings by 600 zlotys. Following this financial readjustment, the average monthly wage (exclusive of compensation payments) has come close to 12,000 zlotys.

Information about the job vacancies existing at the Kielce cement plant has been transmitted to graduates of secondary schools in Kielce, Konskie, Skarzysko-Kamienna and Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski. Vacancies existed and exist for: electricians, mechanics, chemists, construction workers and railroaders. But there has been no response at all. No one has responded to the job offers mailed by NOWINY to 15 schools in the province. Fortunately, the training of pupils at NOWINY's own sponsored school in Checiny is a reliable longtime method of recruiting vocational school graduates. The young people complement the traffic control brigades and work as mechanics and heavy-equipment operators. On the other hand, it is difficult to fill job vacancies in the occupations of packers, quarry drillers and cement grinding mill operators.

The manpower shortage has resulted in a situation such that industrial plants hire anyone who appears at the gate or applies to the personnel department. This means also individuals with a record of disciplinary dismissals, notorious wanderers from one enterprise to another who quit working in factories. Lovers of easy life and seekers of more attractive conditions find it hard to adapt themselves to the consistency and discipline required by job duties. Most often this burden is too much to them and they depart--for another factory, for another plant, for a better job.

Generations that did their work and are now retiring leave industry. Their place must be taken by young people. It must, as otherwise we shall not leave behind us the nadir of our economic crisis. This is worth bearing in mind.

#### Workers' Voices in Polish Affairs

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 13-14 Aug 83 pp 1,5

[Interview with Prof Przemyslaw Wojcik, Political Scientist at the Institute of Marxism and Leninism, by Teresa Kwasniewska (Interpress): "The Workers' Voice on Polish Affairs: Pursuant to the Constitution"]

[Text] [Question] Pan Professor! An amendment to the Constitution of the PRL reflects the special role of the working class.

[Answer] That "declaration" has to be implemented. This means an increase in the participation of workers in resolving affairs of the state, the society and the economy, in fulfilling the difficult tasks of the present period. This also offers a chance for adhering to the socialist principles of our system and the country's development. The party must regain the trust of its fundamental social base--that is, the working class, because this in its turn is the prerequisite for solving political problems with other socio-occupational strata and groups of

urban and rural working people. Socialism is primarily a class issue to all workers and we cannot build it for workers without them.

[Question] What is the image of the worker of the 1980s? What features does it reveal?

[Answer] In addition to unusual political wisdom and maturity and a newly interpreted patriotism, I would point here to the tremendous feeling of solidarity among workers, as well as to their exceptional sensitivity to problems of social justice. These days egocentrism has been supplanted by an altruist approach toward others and comprehension of the troubles and concerns of others, as especially displayed by workers.

But let me point to yet another important factor--the high standards held by workers regarding work morale and honest and thorough work, regarding the need for a work ethos and for satisfaction with not only the external conditions under which work is done but also with the social conditions of human intercourse.

[Question] Incidentally, in their consciousness, as shaped by life experiences and education, workers have basically changed their attitude precisely toward work, have not they?

[Answer] Yes, considerably. Workers want to do a good job and earn well. But this means not just any work satisfying the material conditions of existence (that is a secondary motive), but a job that provides personal satisfaction and a feeling of usefulness to society as well as prestige....A job that satisfies interests and career ambitions.

[Question] Studies conducted by your institute in May and September 1981 indicate that workers show great attachment to socialism. They are particularly interested in a continued effect of socialist relations of production and value on the direction of further social changes in our country.

[Answer] The dominant slogan on the banners displayed during the July-August events was "Socialism Yes, Distortions No" and this was not just phrase-making. Socialism was accepted as an ethical ideal, a way of solving social problems, and a program for social liberation from various kinds of discrimination. Here, a new quality of the working class, especially of its younger generation, has manifested itself. They want to build socialism, but rationally, calmly, without upsets, and professionally. They oppose improvisations in the organization of labor. They want machinery to run efficiently and raw materials to be supplied on schedule. In a word, they want everything to function well as dictated by our times. Here appeals for work enthusiasm alone are useless....

[Question] It is said that workers are to a high degree self-conscious. Whence comes this self-consciousness?

[Answer] From the understanding of their social position, from the feeling of separateness of interests, from their role in the social division of labor. Here, this separateness does not signify opposing the category of workers to that of the intelligentsia, as is often practiced. Neither does it mean depreciating the intelligentsia's role in socio-economic life. Knowledge of these differences is indispensable for surmounting bias and discrimination in the social situation of the working class. This concerns many aspects, and especially working

conditions. Were an index of the disadvantages of various occupations and professions to be prepared, it would show that the brunt is borne by the working class. Let us once and for all realize who participates in reproduction and who in creative work. Consider the nature of physical work that does not involve the use of intellect but provides satisfaction owing to its social usefulness. Of the 12 million employed in the socialized economy in Poland more than 8 million are blue-collarworkers. About 50 percent of workstations is not mechanized: for 4 million people work is arduous and requires considerable physical effort, with about 3 million working under conditions defined as "exceeding the minimum permissible limits," that is, harmful to health, including 300,000 who work under extremely harmful conditions. Some of the reasons surely are of an objective nature, but a major factor here is also poor organization, lack of responsibility, and mismanagement. Other disadvantages of blue-collar occupations could also be cited. Suffice it to mention that a 30-year-old member of the intelligentsia or officialdom is just entering the threshold of professional career, reaches the peak of his professional performance after 40, and after 50 is still in the prime of his life. The worker, by contrast, sociologists say, dies thrice in his life: the first time when he leaves the conveyor belt; the second, when he changes his job; and the third, when he finally reaches retirement age. A 30-year-old worker is, in principle, past his peak productivity. When he is 40, it is an effort for him to meet his work quota. And at 50 he is already "worn" as regards productivity. Why am I saying this? Because there is no doubt about the intolerance of the present situation in which the working class bears the brunt of the cost of advancing the nation's civilization. Thus, this quite justifies the conclusion that, in view of their social situation, working and living conditions and place in the social division of labor, workers have the greatest interest in accelerating social and economic progress. They display the mature readiness to support solutions that would promote surmounting the crisis.

[Question] Workers support the program for the democratization of life and social structure and the economic reform. They participate broadly in public consultations on projected decisions by central and local authorities. They have their own representatives within the party leadership--the Central Committee and the Politburo. Thus their program at present is not limited to the words "bread" and "work": they also have a voice in Poland's affairs....

[Answer] Today, indeed, no major national issue can any longer be resolved without the active participation of workers. I would view this fact as a source of optimism about the future.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

#### Workers For Socialism

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 13-14 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Pawel Janikowski: "The Will to Reconstruct: Workers: Socialism Yes, Distortions No!"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The protest of the workers of the Lenin Shipyard that had been initiated in August 1980 gained the support of the workforces of other work establishment on the Coast and in the interior. It also gained broad social resonance and

became the beginning of a long and arduous road of socio-political and economic transformations in our country. This happened because during the second half of the 1970s society had been becoming gradually but steadily more and more aware of the mistakes, deformations and difficulties besetting the country's development, and at the same time of its own powerlessness to influence the events through the mediation of the basic elements of political and social organizations, by any of us. Although at the time, in August 1980, there was no unanimity as to the method of cutting the diseased knot--the awareness of the necessity of cutting it, and the will to cut it, were universal./

August will become part of modern history as the period of workers' protest against distortions, in the name of the humanist ideals of socialism. Of a certainty, future generations of historians will not overlook either the day on which the minutes of a party meeting prior to the 8th PZPR Congress were complemented with a list of comments, recommendations and postulates on the country's situation. No one has yet bothered to determine whether that particular meeting took place in October or November of 1979, in Gdansk or in Sosnowiec, in Jelenia Gora or in Suwalki, at a party organization in some large industrial plant or in a small cooperative. But then, it is not of utmost importance to establish the time and place where someone for the first time had dared to express doubts and comments and initiated an extensive, argued and well-pondered list of proposals, postulates and recommendations. It is a historical fact, on the other hand, that this did take place--and spread almost to every party organization--in late 1979 and early 1980, in the course of the party campaign prior to the 8th PZPR Congress.

Criticism and initiative characterized the activities of basic party organizations prior to the Congress, and the deliberations of the Congress itself as well, come to think of it. During that period rank-and-file party members and Congress delegates expressed the opinions, comments and postulates of their communities, party organizations and the society. They did it in a parliamentary and statutory manner, expecting that their opinions would be treated in the statutory manner, prescribed by the norms of democracy, as well.

They miscalculated. Democracy within the party had been struck by a severe disease and the entire effort of the party's leadership was focused on ignoring and trivializing these opinions instead of listening to, analyzing and implementing the intentions of rank-and-file PZPR members--representatives of the working people. It was precisely this disease, induced through the fault of the pre-August team of individuals exercising supreme power and by their minions and yes-men, that was the reason why the immediate cause of the changes in Polish reality was not the party resolutions and activities prior to August 1980 but the workers' protest initiated in that month in isolation from the party. In the history of the PZPR this fact is recorded in a painful manner.

Yet, it cannot be overlooked that the party's appraisal of the nature, course, and outcome of the August events has been influenced precisely by the fact that a critical undercurrent had appeared even earlier within the party's ranks. Awareness of the need for a change had matured both among the rank-and-file PZPR members and among part of the party's contemporary leadership. We will say it plainly: on the eve of August, at the "explosion" of the workers' protest and

when the agreements were signed, the party as a whole had been ready for a change.

The truth of this statement is not vitiated by the exaggerated and often misinterpreted instances of the detachment shown by certain party members toward the form of the August protest, and it is not vitiated either by the attitudes of certain PZPR activists who resisted the changes. It is not vitiated, finally, by the activities of certain party echelons at the time. The sharp curve which the party "took," beginning with the pre-Congress campaign was too sharp for all members to stay within a monolithic phalanx. It is quite normal that in a period of tumultuous changes in consciousness, in a period of political reorientation, some will always be in the forefront while others will try to apply the brakes; there is always the enterprising "spearhead" and the conservative "rear." This is influenced by the very nature of the phenomenon, and also by the character of individuals--their viewpoints, intellectual potential and interests. This also was what had happened at the stormy turning point between the 1970s and the 1980s.

It is thus a fact that in that period the party had been prepared to promote changes--so far as the awareness and will of the rank-and-file masses of its membership were concerned. This is not contradicted by the negative instances mentioned above. On the other hand, at that time, organizational ability had yet been lacking--that is, as I define it, a ready-made program, ready-made concepts of solutions, division of tasks and roles, and efficient organization. Such an ability began to evolve at a later period, between August 1980 and July 1981, during the campaign prior to the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, and also following that congress. The ideological and political awakening, the fruitful activities of basic party organizations and the mobility of party echelons following August 1980 are the clearest proof that the road leading to the 9th Congress and the road afterward were not forced tactical necessities but stemmed from the profound awareness of persons bearing red [party] identity cards--an awareness consonant with the opinion and will of the non-party workforces--that permanent and infallible trails have to be blazed for the systemic ideals of modern Poland.

The next few days, particularly here on the Coast, will be days of anniversary reminiscences, assessments, appraisals and evaluations of the 3 difficult years elapsing since August 1980. Whence have we started, where are we now, and where are we going? What have we experienced and learned? Who is who? Who is concerned for our national and state interests? How should one live and what should he do and serve in order that the hopes, formulated in that August, for restoring the health of the Republic may be fulfilled and that no month may ever again be recorded so dramatically in Polish history?

Unfortunately, we have not yet reached a stage in which reasonably similar or at least noncontradictory answers can be given to questions of this kind. And although by now it seems possible to speak of a majority whose reasoning is based on the understanding of realities and which grasps the vastness of the changes that took place on the Vistula during these difficult years, and which is not only watching but also actively participating in the materialization of the hopes of August 1980, it is still difficult to speak of any universality of such attitudes.



In the material sphere, in particular, but not only in it, not all the causes prompting the events of 3 years ago have yet been eliminated. Various issues will be resolved only as a consequence of the gradual surmounting of objective difficulties and previously rooted human habits--their satisfactory resolution takes time and requires tenacity and activism. In the meantime these issues remain vexatious and are so perceived by many of us. This exactly provides the ground for hope by individuals whose plans and expectations had not been realized in the course of the post-August event, and were decisively halted by the [martial law] decision of 13 September 1981. For this very reason, their whispering campaign, slogans and attempts at action still find receptive soil in places.

At the 9th Congress the party adopted a program for national accord and struggle--a national accord among all those who are ready to restore the health of socialist Poland, regardless of their world outlook and organizational belonging, and a struggle against the enemies of this needful cause, against the bearers of subversive and often utopian and reactionary concepts, as well as against their influence on the awareness of working people. This program is being implemented in forms suitable to the conditions of the past and present periods.

The struggle against the creators of concepts of opposition has in practice already been won. The struggle to win the allegiance of the general public for the common cause of restoring the health of socialist Poland still continues and still requires creative exploration of the most effective forms and methods at the present time. The general direction of that exploration has also been outlined by the party and is implemented in daily practice: it is oriented toward mutual forgetting of mistakes and oversights, toward toleration of differing world outlooks, toward judging deeds and not words, toward looking forward and reaching an agreement to combat the common enemy represented by all kinds of evil and irregularities. But the point is that the will of various individuals representing various levels of power to which the program for national accord is addressed would jointly pursue the same direction, that their particular traits of character and mentalities, including obstinacy and ordinary dullness, would not ruin this cause, which is so indispensable to Poland.

Those who had appeared 3 years ago within the shipyard and outside its gates not out of hatred or manipulated hostility but out of the desire to shout their "No" and participate in the cause of drafting and implementing a program for restoring the country's health, will readily recall that the end of that August had found us united in hope. We built that hope not only with the texts of the agreements then signed by representatives of the government and the working class. It had widely transcended the text of these documents and encompassed ethical and moral values, the adherence to the fundamental canons of social and political life in our system of society, and many other occurrences that had previously been meeting with critical response.

The hopes at the time were tremendous, the pressure of difficult times was growing and patience was being undermined. Moreover, soon it turned out that different people had different ideas about the road toward fulfilling these expectations. Greater applause was gained by those who made demands and claims and ordered that expectations rest on others. A political struggle about issues vital to the country and nation broke out--a struggle aimed at the very heart of the possibility of fulfilling recent hopes: at the structure of the state and at the economy. What had seemed that August difficult and arduous to attain, later

became simply impossible, day after day. And then yet another dramatic date was inscribed on the Polish calendar: 13 December 1981.

What part of that fervid August has survived to be translated into reality at present? What hopes have survived and have a chance for being realized? Even now these questions provoke various answers depending on the viewpoint, thoroughness of observation and realism of analysis. One thing is incontestable: the period elapsed since the August protest has not, during any of its stages, assured favorable conditions--political, social and economic--for fulfilling those hopes. Hence also the actual changes that are tangible in everyday life occur perhaps more slowly than can satisfy our exhausted, stress-laden and impatient countrymen. But anyone capable of objectivity and fairness of judgment will admit that these changes are indeed taking place!

The party and the nation's leadership have at no time during the last 3 years rejected the August agreements with the working class. General Jaruzelski explicitly confirmed this fact in his July speech to the Parliament. But the point is not only speeches and declarations. The August hopes are being fulfilled as essentially ensues from the resolutions and implementation of the program of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the party. Its consequences include both the economic reform and the whole of the legislative activities providing structural safeguards against a relapse.

This is only the beginning.

This is a far-reaching program for building socialist Poland by Poles and for Poles, on the basis of difficult historical experiences and a realistic assessment of modern conditions, on the basis of national accord and the understanding and industriousness of the society. The difficulties in implementing this program ensue not only from the particular nature of this period but also--and perhaps above all--from the scale of the changes envisaged in the program. A Poland that is strong, well-governed, just and economically strong, a Poland that counts in the world and is valued among nations, cannot arise in one day or year.

#### More Hands Needed for Work

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 17 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Wlodarczak: "Only Hands for Work Are Missing"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Does the application of the economic reform in an enterprise force its party organization to alter its style of work?/ Irena Siewiera, secretary for propaganda affairs at the /Zary Plant of the Zaganskie Wool Industry Works/, has no doubts about it: yes, of course. The party organization must join in shaping the economic awareness of its members and the entire workforce of the enterprise. This means that at party meetings, for a long time now, people are briefed about the principles of the reform and the related current policies of the party and government. What is more, all these matters are discussed in the context of the conditions at the particular plant. But methods of party work could have been revised even earlier, prior to the introduction of the reform. This was required by the political situation. However, the most important problem at present can be formulated as follows: how to prevent a further decline in output owing to the shortage of hands for work?



The current manpower shortage at the plant is estimated at 150. The employment at the plant is 470. One reason for this situation is that during the last 2 years as many as 257 persons availed themselves of study sabbaticals or of the lowered retirement age limit, and in addition 64 women are away on child-care leaves. This is equivalent to an entire work shift.

The work is not easy, which is true anyway of the entire textile industry that for some strange reason has been classified as light industry. Women account for a majority of the workforce. Eight hours of standing on one's feet, running around machinery in a noisy and dirty environment, along with the not infrequent three-shift operation--as a result of all this, after 15 or 20 years the women fairly often are pensioned off owing to occupational diseases. By contrast, in a plant like the MERA-LUMEL Electrical Transformers Plant work is much lighter: one wears a white apron and sits next to the conveyor belt. Thus the women compare these conditions with the work at the Zary Plant and quit it.

Jozef Niemiec, deputy director of the plant, declared that for the present it is difficult to make improvements. The machinery is old and the factory halls are small. He confirms that the party organization is interested in the working conditions of the employees. But modernization requires outlays, imports of machinery. True, it is intended to improve working conditions in some ways. The need for imports is even already being determined, particularly as regards the weaving department.

Secretary Siewiera explains: "Steps have been taken at the plant to train new weavers. The management together with the worker council has succeeded in prompting a group of vocational and economic schools to add textile courses to their curriculums as of the beginning of the new school year. For this concerns training a new generation of employees."

At the plant, as Jozef Niemiec explains, this lack of hands for work is not passively regarded, however. Attempts are made to prompt employees to work more productively as well as to work on Saturdays off. Anyone who works an entire month receives a bonus of 500 zlotys.

Since May piecework wage rates for spinning and weaving machine operators have been increased 80 percent. To encourage work on Saturdays off, the rate paid per kilogram of yarn produced is two and half times as high as on weekdays. Moreover, women who cut short their child-care leaves and start working in the spinning department are paid 1,500 zlotys for each additional month by which they cut short their leaves. For the time being, however, this last incentive is not producing the expected effect. A more effective incentive is raising the wages by a factor of 2.5 for work on Saturdays off. On such days entire work shifts appear, because then a lot of money can be earned.

All these incentives were, of course, introduced following their acceptance by the worker council. The workforce at Zary has its own council as well as delegates to the general meeting of the Zagan Works employees. The party organization was the initiator in establishing worker self-government. So far this self-government has expressed its opinion on the new incentive system, accepted the yearly plan and approved the rules for allotting "13th month" pay and for the distribution of profits. It has also approved the enterprise's balance sheet. Since fairly large profits have been achieved, the self-

government resolved that the plant should register three orphans from the Children's Home for housing and pay the total cost of the dwellings for them.

Wieslaw Dacz, chairman of the worker council, says: "We also reached an agreement on sales of unnecessary and dispensable fixed assets owned by the plant. Before the sales office is informed of any such assets, we will notify the workforce about the possibilities of purchasing them. For example, we may have an unneeded motor and an employee who owns a farm on the side might want to use it. During the economic crisis we should help people in this way."

Aside from the manpower shortage, the plant has no major problems. Last year it experienced serious shortages of raw materials. However, contacts with the USSR and Czechoslovakia were established and by now the deliveries of fibers are regular.

However, owing to the manpower shortage, output is lower than a year ago, although the plan targets are being fulfilled. In addition, labor productivity is rising. In one year the Zary Plant produces about 800,000 meters of textile fabrics and about 600 tons of carding yarn. Some of the yarn is processed in the plant's weaving department and the remainder forwarded to Zagan.

The plant conservation program is being implemented. Its purpose is to reduce production cost. Major measures yielding millions in savings are not envisaged, because much of the potential has long since been regularly exploited. Hence, the program stresses reducing costs by eliminating expensive imports and procuring cheaper substitutes--of course, provided that there is no deterioration in the quality of products.

Last year, US\$70,000 was paid for imports of nearly 5 tons of dyestuffs. Changes in the dyeing of textile fabrics and raw materials based on the gradual supplanting of these dyestuffs with their domestic counterparts, should produce substantial savings of hard currency. Plans exist for utilizing the wastes of the worsted yarn department in Zagan for the production of carded yarn. This measure will not affect adversely the quality and useful value of the textile fabrics, and it should yield savings of 5 million zlotys annually. The conservation program contains other measures of this kind.

The program was, of course, approved by the self-government.

The chief of the self-government explains: "There is no way in which the plant party committee can influence or pressure the worker council. The council can be influenced only by the party members who belong to it. Besides, our activities are unhampered and fully free. All resolutions of the self-government are implemented by the plant management. For the situation is such that the management cannot accomplish many things without support from the worker council. And as for us, we operate according to the will of our voters.

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PROVINCIAL WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT ACTIONS NOTED

Reaching for Partnership

Gdansk TRYBUNA WYBREZA in Polish 22 Jul 83 p 6

[Article by Aldona Lukomska: "Moving Toward Partnership"]

[Text] Approval to renew self-government activity was obtained up to 31 March of this year by almost 6,000 enterprises (after this period the consent of the initiating organ ceased to be obligatory) and therefore formal authorization was obtained by over 90 percent of the enterprises; the remainder (about 500) are taking steps to do so.

Does that mean that one of the basic slogans of the "self-government" reform can be quietly considered as fulfilled? No, and what's more today it is already known that it is still a long way to the point where the second "S" will encompass fully what was proposed for it in the reform. The establishment of a workers' council is not the same as its activity.

At present, about 4,000 self-governing bodies are functioning, that is making substantial decisions, cooperating jointly in the administration of the enterprise. Is that very many or only a few?

Of course, it is a few if you consider our impatience and desire for the quickest possible introduction of reform. But it is many when you consider the conditions in which the workers' councils got their start. Let's not forget that they originated in a period of martial law or in a time of restrictions resulting from martial law being lifted. It has been fairly universally stated that this must determine the activity of self-government and will push it along on the road of purely formal joint participation in the administration of the enterprise. Especially in the first months, it has happened in this way in many plants, and is happening now in several others. The results of the questionnaire administered not long ago by the Sejm Commission for Self-Government would indicate, however, that it is a phenomenon as universal as might be thought by the looks of it. To the question of whether the organs of self-government have begun to implement their legal functions, only 2 percent of those asked answered negatively (about 3,500 answers came in) and over 80 percent of those questioned stated that self-government has at present a full chance of functioning.

It is another matter that this does not at all signify an ease of activity of the workers' council in the enterprise and does not testify to the quality of this activity. On one hand, the above-mentioned questionnaire presents a whole list of difficulties and obstacles which the workers' council will encounter; on the other it shows the behavior of the self-governing body itself which is not always competent and in agreement with the interest of the enterprise, as for example the still-striking cases of limiting activities solely to demands on the matter of profit sharing or placing the narrow interests of the enterprise in the forefront.

Most of the problems originate on the self-governing body-director line. The cases, however, in which each side aims at weakening the other, though they occur continually, are less and less frequent, as was also confirmed by the questionnaire. In the majority of enterprises where the workers' council skillfully utilizes its legal authority, we can already speak today of the beginning of a certain type of partnership--a difficult and uncomfortable one, but a partnership nonetheless.

Most of the threats to the functioning of self-government, as is shown by the studies of the Sejm commission, lie not in the plant itself, but outside of it. Some of the dangers are:

the still-frequent restriction of the activity of self-government by executive orders, not consistent with the spirit of the laws on self-government and the state enterprise;

treatment of the workers' councils by supervisory units as a necessary evil, or a nonrecognition of the self-governing body;

imposition by the local authorities of tasks which are contrary to the principle of independence of the enterprise, as well as a failure to inform the self-governing body of decisions made outside of the enterprise, and

the too-frequent changes of regulations, especially finance and tax regulations, as well as the so-called transitional ones limiting the lawfully assigned authority of the workers' council.

Self-government is not always able to defend itself against these dangers. A very ordinary reason must often stand in the way--unawareness of one's own rights and possibilities. If one can speak of the greatest problem of self-government today, then certainly this ignorance, this lack of a proper legal and economic education troubles the self-government activists the most.

The Sejm recently passed a law in which it declares the creation in the Commission for Self-Government of a consulting group comprised of famous practitioners and theorists of self-government, which is to fill the need of a source of knowledge for the activists of workers' councils and decide the most complicated problems. Maybe this assistance, and also the concern of the Sejm for self-governing bodies based first of all on educating activists to the great possibilities for their work under the law, and a desire to utilize the authority vested in them, will lead to workers' councils quickly and more effectively entering into their statutory role.

## Sejm Actions on Self-Government

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 27 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview with vice-marshall of the PRL Sejm, Piotr Stefanski, by Ewa Ostrowska; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Mr Marshal, the spring session of the Sejm is ending. What kind of session was it?

[Answer] We are talking in the last part of July not so close to the completion of the session both in the calendar and value sense. There are still two very important meetings ahead of us. This intense ending corresponds well with the intense beginning of the session. Although all of last year was characterized by legislative work--we passed 57 laws--the present session has a different character. Above all, the Sejm's work was made up in large part by the economic problem and by the declaration of a 3-year plan, the declaration of a program for the development of agriculture and the food economy to 1990, an evaluation of the introduction of economic reform, and an analysis of the activity of workers' self-government in the enterprises. One can say that the Sejm fully, at plenary sessions and not only in the works of the commission, returned a state of equilibrium to their three functions: programming, legislative, and control functions. A very penetrating evaluation of the budget for the past year also has great meaning for the whole of regulatory activity, especially since it was preceded by very intensive work in the commission.

Emphasizing all this, I wish to express the opinion that this session will be recorded both in the political history of our country and in the social atmosphere, above all from another angle. Because this is basically a post-martial law session with the consequences of amnesty as well as the legal regulations for the time of overcoming the crisis and because this is a session which, if we take into consideration the announced second hearing on national councils and territorial self-government for the next meeting will close a very important stage of political reforms after passing the law. At this same meeting we want also to decide the matters connected with amendments to the Constitution: the constitutional coverage of the role of PRON, the role of the working class in the state, confirmation of a guarantee for the rural economy, and the new institution of a state of emergency--in sum very significant acts in the process of political reform.

[Question] These actions were undertaken by the Sejm soon after 13 December 1981. How do you assess the contribution of the Sejm to the guarantees of renewal created in this time?

[Answer] I would like to stress that this special activity of the Sejm during martial law aroused in the outside world surprise bordering on disbelief. I recall that in 1 and 1/2 years the Sejm passed almost 80 laws. But of course, it is not the number here that counts though it is an undoubted measure of the extensive work of the Sejm. I think that in making a capsule evaluation, it is necessary to be aware that 12 of these laws are the legal foundation of the

economic reform, that the next 14, with the law on the national councils and the cooperative law in the lead, are laws laying the foundation under the completely new condition of self-government, including self-government of particular areas as for example higher education or whole professions, for example, the legal profession. We gave the fight against social pathology nearly 10 laws and as many to social problems. It is clear then that the main energy of the Sejm during martial law went toward incorporating into life a broadly conceived program of reform, that regardless of all the dramatic complications of this period, the decisive will of directing our common fate on to different tracks, the desire to make a way for new socioeconomic solutions was the basic determinant of the work of the Sejm. Throughout this time, we did not forget international conditions, giving expression also in a period of particularly serious threats, to a consistently peaceful policy based on peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

[Question] Mr Marshal, the delegates' recess will be shorter this year than usual. What about after the break?

[Answer] In September the fall session will begin. The aim of the Sejm is the greater depth of the regulatory activity of the highest organ of legislative authority and it should be expected that in connection with this the Sejm will evaluate the functioning of several areas of our common life. It is still too early to make more concrete forecasts but my opinion, based on work thus far, is that one of the first evaluations of this type will concern the construction industry and the whole of the housing program. Also, a great number of laws which we spoke about, will require, above all on the part of the Sejm commission, constant supervision of their implementation. This concerns especially self-government legislation. In these cases, the road from authorization to actual practice is neither fast nor easy. We know this and the result is the broad program of regulatory work of the Sejm.

We established from the beginning that many matters determined by the laws must be after some time the subject of systematic evaluations by the Sejm. In the fall session protection of the environment, for example, will be such a recurring matter. The program of legislative acts also looks fairly substantial and although laws of such capital importance as have been passed so far are not seen on the horizon, we still cannot forget the significant role of particular laws which as a whole constitute the system of law. There certainly is much to do in this area.

We must, however, be aware that in the period after martial law, the problems which we know so well--the economy, employment, wages, the market, the functioning of the administration--will not disappear. An effort lasting years will be necessary so that these areas are not seen as problems. The fall session of the Sejm thus is the organization and coordination of a common effort so that what we still constantly feel to be problems cease to be problems as soon as possible.

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## HUNGARIANS VIEW DOMESTIC SCENE AFTER MARTIAL LAW

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 5 Aug 83 p 23-25

[Report by Vera Volgyi in Warsaw]

[Text] He wears a derby and smiles into the camera. The merry youth is a characteristic figure of the market square in Warsaw's Old City. The horoscopist looks into the future to Wurlitzer music. What does he predict? What fits. A little bad, much good, what fits me and you and everyone. In the last 3 years Poland has come through the predictions. The world press, according to its party position, wrote of complete collapse, the crisis or renewal of socialism, of a slow unfolding, of reassuring reforms. They predicted unemployment, and today there is a labor shortage. They spoke of starvation, but today there are no lines before the shops. The cart, rushing at a mad pace, stopped at the brink of the precipice, and with a left turn began to seek the road leading upward. For a year production has not been decreasing but increasing; public supply and public security have improved; and there is hope that the standard of living will be stabilized this year. Long-awaited laws are being born in the Sejm, creating foundations for a healthier public life. The divided society of Poland is debating, waiting and watching.

We were watching too, five of us, Hungarian journalists. We visited Warsaw in the days before the end of the state of emergency. The capital, of course, is not the country and a week is little time to get to know even the surface. But those we talked to wanted to show us what was beneath the surface too. We did not get well-rounded answers from which individual opinions and passions might have been removed. There was no taboo theme, we did not have to pad the questions with courtesy. The politicians here have faces.

## Politicians on the "Tram"

I saw the "General"--for it is only thus that they refer to Wojciech Jaruzelski here, and there is no overtone in this denomination--at a meeting of the Sejm. He entered the hall unnoticed and took his place among the members of the government, on the "tram." (The representatives of the government and of the State

Council sit on the two sides of the presidium in rows of chairs one behind the other, so this is popularly called the tram.) He is well known to be a puritanical and straight man. Even a journalist colleague who has objections to the present order and to many measures taken called him a personality who could bring renewal to Poland. Others, however, attach to his name the unpopular measure of introducing the state of emergency. For others still he is popular for this very reason. The General is not in an easy situation, just as all Poland is finding itself in difficulty.

Up in the gallery, among the journalists, is another personality, Jerzy Urban, the government spokesman. Because of his function he is one of the politicians who figures most prominently. I rememberd him for his characteristic appearance and reticent style from his TV appearances here at home. In Warsaw I understood that of all this only the characteristic appearance is true. I saw him responding wittily and firmly at an international press conference. He gave wise, well-prepared answers to us also when he talked with our delegation for two and a half hours.

#### Clothes--For an Imaginary Figure

His handshake is determined. His style is somewhat ironic. He does not use notes. There are two TV sets in his office, and a video recorder. On his desk there are innumerable telephones. These are the indispensable appurtenances of his work. He has to be up-to-date for he makes statements, answers and speaks in the name of the government. He works 36 hours out of every 24--like the other leaders of Poland--but he says he is not obsessed with work. He smokes Polish cigarettes, not many, and he never lights one in order to gain time before answering.

"I read a Polish opinion according to which proclaiming the state of emergency was unavoidable, but at the same time the country then lost a chance, the possibility for socialist renewal. Do you agree with this?"

"This is a rather typical opinion and I share it only with certain reservations. It is true that those agreements which we signed after the mass protest, after August 1980, created a possibility for the development of a new model for social contacts. The 9th Congress of the LEMP [United Workers' Party of Poland]--which was convened in July 1981, at a time when Polish socialism was really in danger --still outlined a future in which there would be a place for Solidarity. But to achieve this the organization would have had to purge itself of extreme elements and really function as a trade union. Events, however, drew the country increasingly toward civil war. There were more and more strikes, for more and more trivial reasons, and economic collapse threatened. Solidarity blocked every sort of economic reform experiment. Our one-time partner and later enemy was spreading ideas the goal of which was to seize power in economic guidance also and appropriate the tools of production. Production fell, they would not permit a price increase, and at the same time they demanded wage increases. The result--inflation and empty shops. Solidarity was responsible for nothing, not even for the economy. So the renewal, which began in August 1980, came to nothing; Solidarity put a stop to it."



"Will the missed opportunity return after the ending of the state of emergency?"

"I do not agree with this question, because even under the state of emergency conditions--especially after it was suspended--we were working for renewal. We created the institutional and legal foundations for it. We began to introduce economic reform, there were laws on enterprises, worker self-administration, the broadening of socialist democracy, the trade unions. There were new regulations on university, college and local self-government...and I could go on. As a whole, these measures mean a qualitative change already. And how to make use of these laws in a state of emergency? I must say that this legislative work was a little like a tailor sewing clothes for an imagined figure. Because the democratic rights which the laws ensured are broader than the state of emergency or the crisis situation permitted. So to a certain extent we limited the implementation of the laws. But these restrictions are of a temporary character."

Independence--From What?

The words "state of emergency" produce a sort of numbness. But in Warsaw one can almost feel history in the process of formation. The decisions of the Sejm are born in debate, there are debates in the party and youth organizations, and frequently the factory self-government forums are scenes of serious clashes. The underground opposition makes itself heard, although in recent times the volume of illegal publications has abated greatly. And there is also opposition from those who hold themselves distant from any sort of social and political activity. One way or another people are taking a stand. Poland is going through a time when one must decide what he thinks about the world. Even those are expressing an opinion who carry fresh water in the evening to the flower cross before the two churches of the capital. These piles of flowers laid on the ground form a symbol of resistance. And he also expresses an opinion who--despite the boycott appeal of the opposition--joins the new trade unions. So far 3 million have made this decision.

"We are building trade unions, and not political movements!" says Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of labor affairs and trade unions. He is not reading a statement but talking with the journalists. Later he was asked if his words, intended for private use, could be formed into something for a newspaper article. While listening to our questions, he drew cubes in his notebook.

"In recent years the word 'independent' has had a career for us. From what are the new trade unions independent? From the administration yes, from the factory director yes, but they cannot be independent from the legal order of our state or from the interests of that class which they represent. Those who are now members of the trade unions joined in the period after the great shock, at a time when a Pole feared tomorrow, when the standard of living fell by 25 percent. The opposition directed a salvo at us, at what they conceived of as Communist trade unions directed from above. Free Europe was delirious. So after that joining meant a sort of demonstration, people showed where they belonged.

"Just distribution has great significance especially in poverty, and a great task awaits the trade unions in this. We need an organization which can harmonize

the interests of the workers with the broader, state interests. Because there are and will be various contradictions in socialist construction work. But these must be resolved in a civilized way, with agreement and discussion. They must not reach the point where the contradictions thicken and explode in a political crisis."

#### A Feeling of Temporariness

The trade union is only one element of Polish public life. The renewal is inconceivable without the cooperation of the allied parties and the participation of the highly influential Polish church. The youth organizations and local and enterprise self-government have their tasks. (One-time Solidarity members are working in the latter also, and as they said in one of the large factories of Warsaw, in the Huta Warszawa, the cooperation of self-government with the economic leadership and with the party in the undisturbed economic area and in political questions is not really that. Sharp debates are also part of the picture of Poland today.)

The new popular front movement, PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], is bringing together people with various worldviews and political opinions--people who respect the constitution. Prior to our visit, PRON had recommended putting an end to the state of emergency and proclaiming an amnesty.

Since a significant part of the limiting regulations had been recalled in recent months, putting an end to the state of emergency has--as the spokesman of the government said--primarily psychological significance. It will put an end to the constant expectation, the feeling of temporariness, from which, for example, the youth have suffered especially.

"How can the new order win the youth to its side?" I asked Jerzy Urban.

"I will answer with a little detour. At the end of the 1970s the sociologists noticed that youths were secluding themselves from social activity and forming certain informal, individualistic communities, and in these they were analyzing most of all the internal problems of human beings. They concluded from this that this was a trend. Within 1 month it appeared that the young people had great social ambitions, and Solidarity became their favorite. Their great disillusionment after the introduction of the state of emergency derives from this. This age group is more inclined toward opposition also. What might the youth receive in place of Solidarity? What would satisfy them? A government program is dealing with their problems, there is a housing construction program, we are providing special credits for them, one plenum of the party dealt with this age group also, a youth committee of the government is in operation--but all this can ensure only to a certain degree the realization of that political change for which we are striving. The fact is that a program which does not turn the world upside down, which 'only' wants to lead the country out of the crisis and achieve the standard of living of a few years ago, is less attractive to the youth. We frequently hear from the youth, 'Show us the heavenly advantages of socialism, and then we will follow you.' I do not believe that the leadership in power will succeed in outlining the future without the participation of youth."

"Let us narrow the question down. How can the youth participate, let us say, in the guidance of the enterprises?"

"If we ensured in advance the participation of the youth in, for example, self-government, then we would have the old pre-1980 situation when what was precisely essential for the youth organizations was how many chairs they occupied in the various bodies. The participation of the youth in present enterprise self-government appears weak simply because there are free elections and no one can guarantee the youth any reserved seats. Is age really important in this case? At the same time it is also a fact that it is the youth which is less linked into social life, less inclined to join the party and the new trade unions. Their own organizations are not active enough. The youth are divided. The problem of this age group is one of the most complicated problems in Poland today."

### Lost Illusions

The headquarters of the Polish Socialist Youth Federation (ZSMP), counting almost 2 million members, is a modest building. We talked with Jerzy Jaskernia, the 33-year-old president of the federation. Again the theme was the youth.

"Are the youth disillusioned? Like every generalization, this too is false. But at the same time it is a fact that we have serious problems. One of the biggest problems is the housing question. What can you say to those who must wait 15-20 years for an independent dwelling? And the lost illusions? When we went to school we always heard and believed how good the Gomulka regime was. Then, in 1970, it turned out that everything had to be begun again. A new myth was born, let us build a second Poland, only we did not add, on credit. We went through a new epoch in 1980. At the same time Solidarity began to spread its own myth, we will be the second Japan, and in the meantime the economy went bust. It also contributes to the disillusionment of the youth that today they are asking, 'Are we not on the threshold of new errors?' The Polish youth have lived through dramatic changes. The most important task for us now is to return to the youth a faith in socialism. The present social and economic problems cannot be solved in 1 or 2 days. What is needed is a long-range strategy in the development of which the government must participate just as much as the youth."

"And what is the youth federation doing for this?"

"The ZSMP is patron of the housing construction program. Within the enterprises, for example, groups are being formed which will, let us say, put an old brick factory into operation or participate in housing construction. We are working to get the youth into the cooperative movement, we have announced a program 'Youth for Economic Reform' etc. It may be that social tasks have received too great an emphasis in the work of our federation, and we can reorganize our ideological work only at the price of difficulties. The ZSMP fell apart in recent years. One of our most important tasks now is to rebuild the factory primary organizations. We must win back trust, and we want to build our organizations in the universities too."

"What is the new 'myth' with which you can win the youth?"

"We like myths too much, but I believe that our job now is to build a rational society. We cannot apply the old categories to the present. We do not need symbols, we need a balanced economic and political system. We need a public life in which a citizen can participate without any sort of discrimination. There will be a problem with the youth as long as their problems are not solved. We do not need myths, but rather social and economic goals which are being realized."

#### The Crowd at the Hybrydy

Conversations--about Poland. What does the street add to all this?

There are piles of fruit and vegetables in the market, there is milk in the shops, various types of cheese, bread and canned goods. They still require tickets for a few foodstuffs, such as sugar and meat. A housewife does not have an easy job. In one butcher shop I saw a few of them patiently sitting around, talking. They were waiting for a delivery. And the prices? One hundred zloty for a kilo of tomatoes, 30 for onions, 100 for green beans, 34 for a Camambert cheese, 12 for a liter of milk, 700 for a liter of hard liquor, 400-500 for a simple child's dress. The average earnings are 15,000 zloty.

There is a shortage of refrigerators and washing machines and one must wait for furniture. The women are well dressed, but not from the shops. What one cannot find in the shops can be obtained in the bazaar, on the free market. From stitched jackets to brand-name jeans, from stereo tape recorders to fashionable shoes, they have everything, at exorbitant prices.

The city lives and works, travels by tram or if possible by car, goes to the cinema and the restaurants. In the evening they open the Akvarium jazz club and there is a big crowd at the Hybrydy disco.

The surface--the tranquil familiarity of everyday.

A few days after we returned home the State Council of the Polish People's Republic put an end to the state of emergency in the entire area of the country as of 22 July. The Military Council for National Salvation was dissolved. The Sejm accepted an amnesty law. They formulated into law those provisions and restrictions, which will apply for another two or two and a half years, the period of liquidating the crisis. The regulations also authorize the Sejm to put an end to these provisions earlier insofar as possible.

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CEAUSESCU RECEIVED BURUNDI ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

AU021558 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1533 GMT 2 Sep 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 2 Sep 83--President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received, on 2 September, Paul Munyembari [spelling as received], who presented his credentials as ambassador of the Republic of Burundi to Romania.

In the address of the ambassador, satisfaction is expressed at the positive evolution of the relations between the two countries and emphasis is placed on the fact that "the summit visits, the Romanian-Burundi consultations on current major issues confronting mankind proved that the two governments' stances are similar on the questions of peace, [which] you and my president resolutely defend, as well as on the questions of development you have been steadily promoting."

"In this respect, the address further shows, our governments condemn the hotbeds of tension existing in the world and those who foment them. On the same ground, we raise our voices against the arms race which take up so many financial means and destroy so many human resources, instead of helping the development of mankind, and of supporting the peoples who live in the developing countries in particular."

The ambassador of Burundi expressed his resolve to make efforts to maintain and strengthen the fine relations which link the two peoples, to develop the bilateral realtions and the mutually advantageous cooperation.

The address of reply of the Romanian head of state says: "Socialist Romania firmly campaigns for a policy of peace, detente and national independence, for having interstate relations firmly based on the principles of fully equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, the renunciation of the threat and use of force. Under the current circumstances, because of the tension in the international life, we think all the peoples, progressive forces all over the world should act in unity to prevent war and defend peace, to stop arms race and induce a passage to concrete disarmament measures, nuclear in the first place."

The address stresses that Romania pays great heed to the consolidation of the friendship and collaboration with the African countries, with all the developing and non-aligned countries, that she actively backs the fight of the peoples in those countries for the consolidation of their independent socio-economic

development, for the capitalization of their national riches to their own benefit. "Romania firmly works for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order, based on equality and equity in economic relations among states," the address shows.

The Romanian head of state assessed that the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Burundi, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Uprona Party, witnessed a positive course, being powerfully stimulated by the talks with [word indistinct] Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, by the summit understandings, the treaty of friendship and cooperation in particular, and wished the Burundi ambassador success in fulfilling his mission.

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CEAUSESCU RECEIVES CREDENTIALS OF GREEK ENVOY

AU021340 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1241 GMT 2 Sep 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 2 Sep 83--On Friday, 2 September, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, received Dimitrios Serbos [spelling as received] who presented his credentials as ambassador of the Hellenic Republic in Romania.

In the address he made on the occasion the ambassador referred to the good relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Greece and stressed: the talks the Hellenic head of state had with your excellency were interesting and productive and his memories of them are vivid. Indeed, those summit talks and the talks you held with Greece's prime minister gave a decisive impetus to the long-standing relations of friendship between the two countries, to their development.

Next, the ambassador expressed his wish to make a substantial contribution to the further development of the relations extant between Romania and Greece and render the cooperation between the two states--which also aims at turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and good neighborliness--more efficient and productive.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his address that long-standing relations of friendship and collaboration, grounded on cultural affinities on the two peoples' joint aspirations after freedom, justice and progress, developed between Romania and Greece.

Referring to the present international situation, the Romanian head of state reassessed that, under the current circumstances, the main question is halting the arms race and taking effective measures forwarding disarmament, first and foremost nuclear disarmament, to which he added: our special concern is the situation in Europe. That is why we consider that everything possible must be done so that, starting this year, the location on the continent should be halted of new medium-range missiles, and step by step, the existing ones withdrawn and scrapped."

"As to the Balkans--he went on--I wish to express Romania's desire and determination to (?develop) cooperative relations, both bilaterally and multilaterally, with the states in this region, to help the negotiated settlement of the

various problems and issues, to turn the Balkans into a region of good neighbourliness and peaceful collaboration, without nuclear arms or foreign military bases."

In conclusion, President Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that the Romanian-Hellenic relations meet all necessary conditions to ever more powerfully develop in the future, and he expressed his conviction that the successful meetings and talks he had with the president of the Hellenic Republic and with the prime minister of that country, just as the broad dialogue between their countries will give a strong impetus to this development in all domains, and especially in that of economic relations, according to the documents on bilateral collaboration covenanted between the two countries.

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CEAUSESCU SENDS MESSAGE TO YOUTH MEETING

AU051839 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1733 GMT 5 Sep 83

[Report on message sent by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the European regional meeting on the International Youth Year, which opened in Romania on 5 September]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 2 Sep 83--The message assesses that the European regional meeting on the International Youth Year--that started in Costinesti today--is a significant event in the life of the youth as it is called to debate highly important questions regarding the rallying of the forces of the young generation and the enhancement of its contribution to the socioeconomic development of each country, to the struggle for social progress, collaboration and peace in the world. We are of the opinion that the current meeting, just as all the preparations and the observance of the International Youth Year should lead to a more active participation of the young generation in Europe and in all countries of the world to the general efforts towards settling the major questions of the present-day epoch, and building a better and more just world, a world of peace and collaboration, the Romanian head of state stresses.

Referring to aspects of the current international situation, President Nicolae Ceausescu is of the opinion that no reason can justify the policy of arming, the adoption of further programmes of deploying nuclear missiles. Everything possible should be done for a stop to be put to the location of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, this year for the withdrawal and destruction of the ones in place. We think that there still is time that an agreement be reached in this respect, through joint efforts. If no agreement is reached by the end of this year, the postponement should be covenanted of the location of missiles until the end of 1984 or the beginning of 1985 so that negotiations could proceed.

In his message Romania's president stresses that the youth must militate actively alongside the peoples of their countries for the cessation of the arms race, for the reduction of military expenditures, for the setting up of de-nuclearized zones in Europe and other parts of the world, for practical, tangible measures of disarmament. Most resolute actions should be taken for the elimination of the use and threat of force from international relations, for the resolution of all interstate problems and conflicts by peacefully negotiated means exclusively.

The young generation's struggle for peace and disarmament should go hand in hand with the peoples' struggle for the eradication of underdevelopment, for the building of a new economic order.

Considering that within the International Youth Year special attention must be paid to the fundamental problems of the youth regarding the ensurance of their right to work, instruction, health care and culture, the Romanian head of state highlights in his message the mission all the states, governments and peoples have to bring up their youth in the spirit of patriotism, peace and friendship, of responsibility towards preserving and fostering the great assets of science and culture, of human civilization. Moreover, action must be taken with joint forces against retrograde nationalistic and chauvinistic conceptions and frames of mind just as against racism and neofascism, war-like propaganda, all practices and manifestations which degrade the human being.

Romania's youth will closely collaborate on multiple planes with the youth in Europe and throughout the world, for the triumph of peace, security and disarmament, for collaboration and international detente, the message goes on, expressing the firm conviction that the present meeting will make a substantial contribution to the preparation and observance of the International Youth Year--which is expected to provide the framework for ample manifestations aimed at strongly asserting the will and determination of the young generation to build a happy future of peace, wellbeing and progress.

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ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU SENDS MESSAGE TO RED CROSS CONGRESS

AU090719 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1645 GMT 8 Sep 83

[Excerpts] Bucharest AGERPRES 8 Sep 83--The congress of Red Cross Society of the Socialist Republic of Romania was held in Bucharest on 8 September, gathering delegates representing Red Cross organizations from all over the country.

Participating were Stefan Voitec, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, Alexandrina Gainuse, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, party and state activists, representatives of mass and public organizations, and of central institutions, personalities of the scientific and cultural life.

Attending were also Enrique de la Mata Gorostezaga, president of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, delegations of National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, Turkey, the USSR and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

During the opening session Stefan Voitec read the message Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed to the congress.

The last item on the agenda was the election of the members of the National Council. Lidia Oradean, secretary of state at the Ministry of Health, was reelected chairman of the National Council of the Red Cross Society of Romania.

The participants in the congress addressed a telegram to President Nicolae Ceausescu.

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END